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Men and Coal

THIS is being written on the eve of The Showdown. For that is the way the issue is being described by the American press. If one man can successfully challenge the authority of the state, then the very basis of law is destroyed and with it the solid foundations on which our society rests. So, at least, argue those who feel that, whatever the wider issues, the immediate one is the United States of America versus John Llewellyn Lewis.

Such is the talk in the streets this week-end as the lights go down in the great cities, as the fires in the steel mills are banked and the railways cut their schedules, as the shadow of industrial paralysis creeps over the land. But even those who hold most grimly to this opinion have doubts. The "wider issues" insinuate themselves into the picture and destroy its clear outlines. The miners, recalling years of misery and terror in the coal fields, give unquestioning loyalty to the man who has led their battles and won their victories. Fifteen million trade unionists, with little love for Lewis, unite in condemning the government for making use of the injunction which, years ago, the Norris-LaGuardia Act outlawed as a weapon to force settlement in a labor dispute. The heads of the great industries whose production depends directly on coal count the costs of shutdown in the coming weeks. And men and women with wider imagination estimate in terms of human life the effects of stopping coal exports to the desperate people of Europe. The truism that clapping Lewis into jail, or fining the U. M. W. $200,000 for each day the strike continues, or occupying the coal fields with the army will not mine one ton of coal confronts Mr. Truman and his Cabinet with a responsibility which will not be discharged even after the courts have had their say. In the end, the issue is not merely the United States versus John L. Lewis; it is also the issue of men and coal.

"It is time for the American people to ask themselves some searching questions about the coal mines. In any rational view of the matter the mines exist not to give wages to miners or profits to owners and operators but primarily and chiefly to provide an adequate and regular supply of coal for public and private needs at a minimum cost of production and distribution." These words from *The Nation* of December 13, 1919, were written in the middle of the devastating post-war strike in the year John L. Lewis first took command of the United Mine Workers. Now, as then, the responsibility of the government cannot be reduced to the simple enforcement of law. It must include that of getting back into operation the coal mines on which so much of our national life and the life of other nations depend. We admit that the character and actions of John L. Lewis have not made it easy for the government to assume that responsibility. But we believe, just the same, that the government must not permit his menacing bulk to block the vision of its wider duties. We believe that the injunction technique was a mistake. And we also think that the authorities should be devoting their best effort to discovering means by which negotiations can be resumed. This may involve immediate loss of prestige to an Administration already humbled by its licking at the polls. But until miners and operators talk across a table the paralyzing impasse will remain.

There is one way in which the Administration can more than retrieve the immediate loss of face. The editorial in *The Nation* of twenty-seven years ago made the tentative suggestion that nationalization of the mines was the only logical solution of the perennial coal crisis. Now, with the record of those twenty-seven years behind us, and with the experience of the past six months of nominal government ownership of the mines, we urge this solution with more confidence. If the government took over the mines permanently and brought the whole industry under a Coal Authority, it would be forced to accept responsibility for continuous operation. This would entail the establishment of machinery for labor negotiations and arbitration to meet reasonable demands for improved conditions in the mining communities. True, as long as John L. Lewis was head of the union, negotiations between the Authority and the miners would not be easy. Lewis is as pugnacious, as arrogant, as unreasonable a labor leader as has ever taken the center of the national stage. But most of his qualities are a reflection of the lust for profits and the callous disregard for human life that has characterized the majority of the coal operators whom he has battled for nearly half a century. In dealing with a National Coal Authority which itself should include representatives of the workers, the character of the negotiations would inevitably change and

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon
Literary Editor Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors
Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

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* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

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Lewis's dictatorial hold would be loosened. For the major concern of the Authority would be to bring health into a sick industry, to see that the conditions of life in the coal towns at least meet those of other industrial centers, and to guarantee the constant availability of a fuel which, for some years to come, will remain the nation's chief source of power. If the present crisis hastens this ultimately inevitable conclusion to the grim story of coal, then the price the country will pay in the next few weeks will not be in vain.

The Shape of Things

THE SPANISH ISSUE WILL COME BEFORE THE General Assembly of the United Nations sometime next week. But diplomatic trial balloons are already being floated in the corridors, and it is apparent, as we declared last week, that the United States has now supplanted Great Britain as leader of the do-nothing bloc. This does not mean that Mr. Bevin has undergone a fundamental change of heart, but in view of the strong opposition at home, he is not averse to letting Tom Connally take command of the forces resisting positive action by the United Nations. We believe that the American delegation's attitude on the Spanish question does not reflect the sentiment of the overwhelming mass of the American people. For that reason, the Nation Associates and the Friends of the Spanish Republic have presented a memorandum to the president of the General Assembly and to the various delegations, requesting severance of diplomatic relations with Franco and recognition of the Spanish Republican government in exile. The document points out that last March the governments of Great Britain, the United States, and France felt there was sufficient reason to issue a joint declaration calling upon the Spanish people to remove Franco from power by peaceful means; that last summer a subcommittee appointed by the Security Council unanimously proposed adoption of a resolution recommending that diplomatic relations with the Franco government be terminated by each member of the United Nations, should the regime still be in existence at the time of the next session of the General Assembly. The Assembly is in session and the Franco regime is still in existence.

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NO COUNTRY HAS MORE TO LOSE BY THE division of the world into hostile ideological blocs than Czechoslovakia. Politically, it must maintain the close alliance with the Soviet Union on which its security depends, but in order to prosper it needs world markets for its technically advanced and specialized industrial economy. The dearest wish of the Czechs, therefore, is to build a bridge between East and West, and the commercial agreement they have just signed with the United

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States may be regarded as a tentative approach to such a structure. This agreement is, primarily, a statement of principles in which both countries pledge themselves against discriminatory treatment of each other's trade. It includes a statement by Czechoslovakia approving the general tenor of American proposals for expansion of world commerce on multilateral lines, and a promise to compensate American citizens for property nationalized under Czech laws. It is to be followed by negotiations for a comprehensive treaty of friendship and commerce. The Prague government would hardly have signed a document of this kind against the wishes of the Soviet Union. Yet it seems in violent contradiction with the principles hotly sustained by Soviet representatives at the Paris conference when they attacked American proposals for non-discrimination clauses in the peace treaties. However, it would probably be a mistake to assume that the Soviet Union is irrevocably opposed to multilateral trading. The kind of bilateral agreements which it has signed with its neighbors have immediate political advantages, but they tend to isolate Russia economically and restrict its commercial exchanges to countries which can produce few of the things it needs. In the long run, the Soviets have more to gain from worldwide trading relations than from monopoly within their own sphere. Perhaps the Czech-American treaty points to a growing appreciation of this fact.

*

WHEN THE MOSLEM LEAGUE AGREED A FEW weeks ago to nominate representatives to serve in the Indian interim government, it was possible to hope that a communal truce would prevail while India took the next step toward its goal of independence. Unhappily, this hope has already been completely dissipated. As our New Delhi correspondent, Shiva Rao, explains on another page, the Moslem ministers have entered the Cabinet only to prevent it from functioning successfully. They refuse to recognize Nehru as Prime Minister or to accept the principle of joint responsibility; Jinnah, the head of the Moslem League from whom they take orders, has announced a boycott of the Constituent Assembly due to meet next month. The breakdown in the administrative structure has been appallingly illustrated by the bloody Hindu-Moslem riots which have been taking place in Bengal and Behar provinces. The governments of these provinces appeared unable to take effective action; the central government remained paralyzed by its divisions. Both sides, when not accusing each other, tend to blame the British in general and the Viceroy in particular for the situation. Mr. Rao, a Congress sympathizer, supports Nehru's charge that the British have formed a "mental alliance" with the Moslems. Jinnah accuses the Viceroy of "appeasing Congress." Short-sighted British imperialists, like Churchill, are gloating over the mess in the belief that a breakdown of law and order will make possible a British comeback. They are wrong. Britain has not the resources to reimpose its rule in India. If the current effort to transfer power peacefully and constitutionally fails, the British will have no alternative but to pull out of India, lock, stock, and barrel.

*

LANDLORDS IN SEVERAL WESTERN STATES have launched a somewhat inverse "strike" against current rent ceilings by locking up their empty houses until rents are boosted. As a publicity stunt, the "strike" (or is it a lockout?) may have its merits. But as an economic weapon it is hardly to be taken seriously. Existing laws protect tenants against eviction, and the number of empty houses—as anyone knows who has looked for one—is not large enough to provide very effective bargaining power. The strike is, however, a subsidiary feature of a well-organized and apparently well-financed drive by realty interests to force through a 15 per cent increase in rent ceilings. Although a recent government survey shows that as a result of full occupancy and reduced services landlords are enjoying profits from 25 to 43 per cent greater than before the war, some of the property owners apparently regard this as small change compared with the profits that they might be making if all controls were lifted. As long as the present acute housing shortage exists, a "free market" in housing might conceivably push rents to two or three times their present level. It is perhaps natural that the recent Republican victory, and the sharp trend toward decontrol over the bulk of the economy should have caused landlords to cast a lustful eye on the fleshpots that decontrol would give *them*. But if rents, which constitute approximately one-sixth of the average family's living costs, are pushed up, the pressure for higher wages will be so much the greater—a prospect that not even a Republican Congress will relish.

*

CHANCES ARE, THE POWERS THAT BE WILL make short shrift of Private Gorth Merrill, and nobody but Private Merrill's parents and Private Merrill himself will ever think about it again. Private Merrill seems to be a non-conformist; in a tiny A. P. dispatch from Manila carried in several papers last week, news of his non-conformity was brought to the attention of an American reader here and there. The soldier, "whose home address was not given . . . was severely wounded while fighting beside Hukbalahap guerrillas" who were resisting a Philippine Army military police raid on a guerrilla hideout at Sapangbalen. The sketchy dispatch leaves details to the imagination. In lieu of further information—and it is to be expected that the military will clam up—imagination can place Private Merrill in any of many roles ranging from ardent freedom-lover to just plain

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shack-lover (roped into somebody else's fight by mistake). At any rate, the important words in the A. P. dispatch are that the American was *fighting beside* guerrillas; the G. I. *Uebermensch* attitude—in islands where that attitude is devastatingly manifest—appears to be strangely absent in the case of Private Merrill, and it is with a small tingle of admiration that we read of this American whose ruggedness seems not neurotically splashed away.

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, November 23

THE relatively cordial atmosphere of committee discussions was clouded this week by mutual recriminations among the Big Three about the policies they have pursued since the end of hostilities. Mr. Molotov, addressing the Political and Security Committee on November 20, made a genuine attempt to meet the views expressed by Mr. Austin in his speech of October 30: in a revised draft of his resolution requesting information about United Nations troops abroad he agreed that this information should cover not only troops in friendly countries—notably Greece, Egypt, and China—but also those in former enemy countries, which include Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland, where Russian forces are stationed. It should be recalled in this connection that the presence of Russian troops in former Axis territories—in addition to Germany and Austria, where troops of Britain, France, and the United States are also stationed—was approved by the Allies at the time of the armistices. The peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, now being drafted by the Council of Foreign Ministers, provide for withdrawal of occupying troops ninety days after signature. Mr. Molotov, in his resolution, also asked for information concerning air and naval bases maintained abroad by the United Nations in both friendly and former enemy countries. Information about armed forces maintained by the United Nations at home, in which Mr. Austin had expressed interest, should, according to Mr. Molotov, be considered only when the General Assembly takes up his proposal for disarmament.

Unfortunately, Senator Connally, who replied for the United States, had not acquainted himself with Mr. Molotov's revised draft, and he delivered an old-fashioned, oratorical address denouncing Russia's actions since the war all over the globe. This gave Molotov the opportunity to question, in a long-winded statement on November 22, the motives of the United States, and Britain as well, in not furnishing the information he had called for about troops in friendly nations. He proposed that the nations in whose territories such troops are stationed should furnish information. On the previous day Mr. Bevin had declared that Britain would accept the Soviet proposal for a public report on all armed forces maintained abroad by the United Nations, but only on condition that it be included in a plan for disarmament and for the establishment of an international police force—and introduced a resolution to that effect. Mr. Molotov, who was supported by M. Parodi of France, answered that since discussion of disarmament would necessarily be protracted, this represented an attempt by Britain to shelve his request for immediate information about United Nations troops aboard. Efforts were being made over the week-end to reconcile the Russian and British resolutions.

The whole discussion is shadow-boxing. Both Russia and the Western powers know pretty accurately the size of their respective forces abroad. Some of the remarks made by Molotov on November 22 created the impression that he welcomed the chance to put the United States and Britain on the spot, as tit-for-tat for their previous criticism of the presence of Russian troops in Iran. Moreover, Russia, which is strong in land armies and weak in air and naval forces and in industrial capacity to produce the atom bomb, would like to see a public confrontation of the striking strengths commanded by the Big Three. While Mr. Molotov contends that the feeling of unease now existing throughout the world would be alleviated by information about United Nations troops abroad, it is difficult to see how anything short of general troop withdrawal would help, and this in turn would require genuine agreement among the great powers.

The debate about future machinery for the distribution of food supplies to countries in need, precipitated by LaGuardia's proposal for the creation of an International Emergency Food Board and by indications from Washington that the United States would prefer bilateral negotiations to a new international agency, has had the unexpected effect of producing a conciliatory atmosphere. Poland, Yugoslavia, Byelo-Russia, and the Ukraine have vied with one another in demonstrating their fervent appreciation of the aid they have received from UNRRA, and have expressed their gratitude to the United States in terms so glowing that some observers thought they verged on the abject. Typical of the tone of these speeches was a statement by Mr. Rajchman of Poland before the Economic and Financial Committee on November 18, in which he said that UNRRA had "indeed set the example of international solidarity among free peoples" and had been "a curtain-raiser of unusual efficiency." In an attempt to reconcile national with international action Philip Noel-Baker of the United Kingdom suggested on the same day that member nations receiving or contributing relief use the U. N. secretariat as a clearing-house for information and coordination.

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C. I. O. Tightrope Act

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Atlantic City, November 22

COMMUNIST penetration is not the most important problem confronting the hard-pressed American labor movement, but only a wilfully blind observer or a particularly barnacled trade-union bureaucrat will deny that it has been the chief issue at the C. I. O.'s eighth annual convention. A new drive for wage increases was formally launched here, with Philip Murray making it clear that demands will be moderate and that the C. I. O. has no thought of "jeopardizing the economy." And there was a noteworthy sense of responsibility in his conciliatory plea to management to "be gentlemen, [to] sit around the bargaining table and in the spirit of good faith and in the interest of our national economy arrive at mutually satisfactory wage agreements without resorting to strike." But in the off-the-floor sessions, where all too much of the real business of these conventions is done, the caucusing has not revolved about wage demands or strategy to offset the anticipated wave of anti-labor legislation. It has been concerned first and foremost with the left-right struggle that has plagued the C. I. O. from birth.

Philip Murray's approach to this problem appears to be based on three objectives, each more or less incompatible with the other two. As strongly opposed to communism as a pious Catholic well might be, but at the same time fearful of an open split in his organization, he has attempted simultaneously to reduce the influence of the fellow-travelers, to soften the blow by hamstringing their only serious opposition, and to convince the public that the whole issue exists only in the dreams of a congenitally vicious press.

To achieve the first of these cross-purposes Mr. Murray lost no time here in setting up a committee that was to frame a resolution disavowing Communist influence in the C. I. O. To prevent a fight on the floor, and perhaps to convey to the public a picture of internal harmony and unanimity, he took the strange course of appointing to this committee three of the most determined anti-Communists in the organization and three diehards from the opposite side of the aisle, including, fantastically, one self-avowed member of the Communist Party. There is no question that the three left-wingers—Abram Flaxer, Michael Quill, and Ben Gold—would have spurned the "compromise" that finally emerged from this committee if they had not been fearful of even more drastic treatment on the floor. Clearly on the defensive, they agreed with surpassing irony to "resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or any other parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the C. I. O."

Similarly, the left, to use an arbitrary designation, has had to swallow changes in the rules governing C. I. O. industrial councils, which will find it all but impossible in the future to indorse, or to vote contributions to, such "front" institutions as the Win-the-Peace Congress. The activities of the councils will henceforth be subjected to close and persistent scrutiny by the top layer of C. I. O. officialdom. And finally, I have reason to believe that the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee will soon undergo a drastic pruning of the budget, with a number of its leading left-wingers deliberately selected for forced retirement. If the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, which is slated to merge with the Independent Citizens' Committee for the Arts and Sciences, does not change its name, C. I. O.-P. A. C. will in all likelihood move its headquarters away from New York.

These are sizable gains for the anti-Communist forces in the C. I. O., and their leading figures are solidly in agreement that the resolution can be made a powerful weapon in combating party influence on the local level. It is not as strong a statement as they would like to have brought forth, but it will clearly make anti-communism, though not witch-hunting, respectable in trade-union circles.

While a number of right-wing delegates felt let down by the mildness of the resolution and neutral observers gasped at the spectacle of known Communists voting to resent their own interference, Mr. Murray clearly felt that he had bestowed more than enough blessings with his right hand and proceeded from that point on to employ only his left. His chief opportunity came with the election of the nine C. I. O. vice-presidents. Normally this is a mechanical matter, with nine predetermined nominations, unanimous voting, and a general rush for the station. But this time there were complications.

It was a foregone conclusion that Walter Reuther, who was elected president of the United Automobile Workers after the last C. I. O. convention, would be given the vice-presidency held by his predecessor and embittered rival, R. J. Thomas. At the same time Reid Robinson, president of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and, like Thomas, a favored son of the left, was doomed to go —not for political reasons but because he had tried to borrow $5,000 from an employer in the industry with which he was engaged in bargaining. If Murray really wanted to make the convention a leftist rout, he need not have lifted a finger. Reuther would have replaced Thomas, and Robinson's place have gone to O. A. Knight, the

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middle-of-the-road president of the Oil Workers' Union.

Whatever his reasoning, Murray chose not to let the convention take this course. At the zero hour the hitherto disconsolate left-wingers came up with a formula that was bound to appeal both to his passion for compromise and his sense of personal loyalty. They agreed to withdraw Robinson and to vote for Reuther—neither of which they could really avoid doing—if the other vice-presidency went, not to Knight, but to R. J. Thomas. The effect would be twofold: the left would lose only one vice-president instead of two, and Reuther's elevation would be offset in an unprecedented way by the equal honor accorded to a subordinate officer of his own union.

Murray not only found this arrangement satisfactory but crushed all resistance to it by threatening to support Thomas against Reuther if a choice were forced on the floor of the convention. With U. A. W. left-winger George Addes also a member, Reuther now finds himself outvoted by his own union colleagues on the C. I. O. executive board, while back home his effort to consolidate his position as president will hardly be helped by Murray's open indorsement of his rival.

Murray's handling of this episode painfully illustrates what appears to be a premature hardening of the C. I. O.'s institutional arteries. Except for George Baldanzi's courageous but brief flare-up in the last hour of the convention, debate has been kept off the floor with an angry determination that recalls only the tradition of the United Mine Workers. On one occasion Murray practically forbade debate, "because that has already been taken care of in the course of three days' discussion" in the executive board, and asked instead for "a rising vote of thanks" to the board. He got it—but not willingly. One thing that distinguishes this convention from A. F. of L. conventions is that many C. I. O delegates still have the spirit to resent this curious approach to trade-union democracy.

In any estimate of the left-right struggle in the C. I. O. the Reuther-Thomas election must be weighed against the anti-Communist resolution and the change in rules governing industrial councils. My own belief is that a net gain has been registered by the anti-Communist forces, which for the first time have brought concerted pressure on the semi-receptive Mr. Murray. But the real story of this convention will be apparent only after the delegates have returned home and demonstrated the extent to which they mean to implement the anti-Communist resolution in their respective locals.

Showdown on Lewis

BY JAMES A. WECHSLER

Washington, November 24

IF JOHN L. LEWIS is beaten he will drag labor's house down with him. That is the only certainty in the coal drama on the eve of the courtroom scenes. But it may also be the major clue to the outcome. For there is still grave doubt whether this Administration is prepared for the kind of atomic war against unionism required to crush the United Mine Workers. Nor is it clear that the Republican majority has achieved real unity of purpose in the business of anti-labor legislation. Lewis may be forced into momentary retreat, he may suffer indignities and even drastic legal reprisals pending appeal to the Supreme Court, he may provoke a Congressional rampage against labor; as the struggle wears on, the miners may endure payless weeks, the nation may grow cold, dark, and irrational. But the miners' president, whose gaze has been fixed on the history books for a good many years, has new assurance of immortality. He has triumphed over his bitterest labor enemies, compelling them to rally to the miners' cause. He has stolen the national and labor shows. He has reasserted his power to paralyze, frighten, and confuse the country for the eighth time in five years. At sixty-six these are the compensations that feed the Lewis ego.

The only defeat that would hurt John L. Lewis would be the destruction of the union dynasty which is his life's work. Crippling financial penalties—in the Danbury Hatters tradition—legislation outlawing the closed shop and the union welfare fund, and other measures repealing hard-won labor gains may conceivably emerge from this tragic war. But the Administration is inhibited by a guilty conscience and a respect for some liberal virtues. It is spiritually divided, looking for a way out. Neither the President nor most of the men directing day-to-day activity in the case are union-busters. You can find no long-range battle plan here.

Proposals to try to starve out the miners by suspending credit at the company stores have so far been vetoed; there is considerable opposition to the idea of imprisoning Lewis. Much of the Administration's strategy is being improvised from day to day. I suspect that Lewis is similarly playing this one by ear. In such a setting, of course, anything can happen; as bitterness deepens, moves that are now looked upon with horror may seem like routine acts of war. But coal is involved as well as men. No homes have ever been warmed by heat emanating from Capitol Hill, and no living editorial writer has yet produced a chunk of coal.

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Labor is certain to reach new depths in middle-class popularity polls. But Lewis has always been impervious to that danger. Does big business prefer a long, costly war against unionism to production for profit in the here and now? There is probably far less unanimity on this point in business ranks than is generally imagined. As the days pass, that question may become the key to the settlement. Already one hears rumors of union peace feelers to the steel magnates who own the captive mines, and to individual operators.

On this bright Washington Sunday, with the President back at the White House, nearly all prophecies are futile. The impact of the strike is just beginning to be felt. Only as its consequences become clearer will the real decisions be made.

WHERE IT ALL BEGAN

The paradoxes in the conflict are grotesque and familiar. Once again the nation's most distinguished Republican labor leader becomes the *cause célèbre* in what the editorial writers describe as a test between law and anarchy. The Administration's stand against Lewis is deprived of a large measure of its economic justification by the total collapse of price controls; yet the *Mine Workers' Journal* crusaded against the OPA as cynically as any tory paper. On the other side of the fence, "Cap" Krug, generally credited with chief responsibility for the government's "tough" policy toward Lewis, is also remembered as the man who started the cycle of decontrol months ago when he scuttled "L-41," the order channeling building materials into low-cost housing. It was Krug, then directing the War Production Board, who also rejected a long succession of pleas from the War Labor Board for imposition of sanctions against employers defying WLB orders.

Amid all the contradictions on both sides of this dispute—to say nothing of the private operators, whose zeal for free enterprise is matched only by their recurrent belief in salvation by government—the crucial one is the record of Administration policy on price control. It both explains the sense of guilt in many government agencies and provides a moral basis for Lewis's revolt. Krug opened the gates when he terminated L-41; the President made disaster inevitable when he capitulated to the steel industry last winter in its fight for price increases. Chester Bowles and others told Truman what that action foreshadowed. Their prophecies were borne out. Industry got the signal for a concerted assault on a tottering price structure, and the Administration never recaptured the initiative.

Some government apologists now explain that the ultimate decontrol decision reflects a popular mandate. But the fact is that the government lost popular support for price regulation only because the fight was half-heartedly and belatedly carried to the people and was sabotaged behind the lines by Civilian Production Administrator Small and other Truman associates who appreciate a friendly smile from big business.

Then came Lewis.

In May, after the government's seizure of the mines ended the spring strike, Krug signed an agreement with the U. M. W. which the union organ characterized as the most important achievement in the miners' annals. It established the long-debated welfare fund as well as other major advances. Interior Department officials now contend there was no idea at that time that the government would stay in the coal-mining business for any long period. The agreement would remain in force until the operators and Lewis sat down and worked out the terms of a peace settlement. If this was what they expected, it was a wishful thought. The operators were still divided, backward, and astigmatic. Ex-Senator Burke, who represents the Southern coal bloc, was in no mood to accept the changes registered in the Krug-Lewis pact. The government stayed in the coal business.

While it is easy to exercise retroactive wisdom, there is reason to believe that failure to return the mines was a blunder. Krug, however, is said to feel that sudden abandonment of the mines would merely have precipitated a strike, forcing another government seizure; and that the merry-go-round would have creaked to the same end.

In any case, the Administration errors that occurred between October 22 and Election Day cannot be explained away. On October 21 Lewis suddenly and ominously served notice that he proposed to "renegotiate" the Krug contract on November 1. He cited impending changes in the government wage policy, charged violation of the existing accord, and invoked the ten-day reopening clause, which, the U. M. W. contended, still carried over from the previous company-U. M. W. agreement. Krug's attorneys held that a clause in the government-signed accord stating explicitly that the agreement was to remain in force for the period of government possession superseded the earlier point; they held that Lewis could not unilaterally abrogate the pact.

While lawyers wrangled, politicians assumed command. Election Day was approaching; the White House decided that a coal strike had to be avoided at virtually any cost. The precise nature of the assurances given Lewis—whether by Dr. John Steelman or some other White House medicine-man—is not known. But the President himself announced flatly that there would be no coal strike. A flurry of inspired stories indicated that the truculent Krug was out of the picture and that Steelman, who had done business with Lewis in the past, was in charge. It has even been suggested that the dismissal of O. John Rogge, who had started roaming around the country delivering speeches on Lewis's curious pre-war connections with the oil magnate, William Rhodes Davis, was partly designed to keep the miners' leader from stirring up trouble on the eve of the election. Lewis re-

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mained silent, letting some of his henchmen go through the motions of conferences with Krug's subordinates. The meetings were futile. In West Virginia the district leaders of the union continued to snipe at Senator Harley Kilgore, a White House favorite. But there was no strike. The Adminstration took its Election Day beating in a setting of industrial tranquillity.

Then the Administration's personality changed. The amiable Dr. Jekylls who had persuaded Lewis that patience would bring its rewards became violent Mr. Hydes roaring for his scalp—or at least trying to pretend that was their mood. Krug, whose stand at least had the merit of consistency, was restored to eminence. By that time, however, Lewis had good reason to believe that if the Krug method failed, the Administration would once more become a house divided. Krug's proposal for a sixty-day truce to permit negotiations between the miners and the operators was vulnerable. Anyway, by the time the truce expired, Congress would be in session; Lewis could hardly fail to read significance into the time-table. At the Interior Department officials assert they had received solemn assurances from Burke that he would bargain "in good faith." Lewis's skepticism on this point does not seem exaggerated. The Krug formula offered Lewis no assurance that even the gains of last May would be preserved.

Admittedly it is questionable whether any steps short of total surrender could have averted a strike. Men who have known Lewis long feel that the timing of the strike —to coincide with the C. I. O. convention at Atlantic City—was no accident. Virtually the same drama was enacted in 1941 when Philip Murray was presiding over a C. I. O. convention for the first time and Lewis blanketed the proceedings with the captive-mine strike. Lewis is still playing for big labor stakes.

THE PRESIDENT SAYS NO

Few men here pretend that the contract-termination issue involved in Lewis's clash with Krug is the heart of this dispute. Lawyers differ on the merits; in any event the potential cost of a prolonged strike would have overshadowed the most momentous legal quibble. The President's final decision was dictated by simple, instinctive, and unprofound emotions. Like most decent Americans who believe in trade unionism, he was weary of "showdowns" with Lewis, weary of being pushed around, by others as well as Lewis, convinced that capitulation now would mean a new crisis within six months. Indeed, the reasons for standing up to "Big John" were strong and plausible once the elections were over.

The decision was finally reached at a White House conference on November 13 at which Krug and Clark Clifford, the President's legal aide, argued for resistance. Steelman dissented. As far as anybody can determine, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach was not asked for an opinion. There is, however, no indication that Schwellenbach fought for the privilege of taking on Lewis in mortal combat. Two days later the White House released Truman's letter to Lewis. The answer came swiftly; the contract would be terminated on November 20.

The President's subsequent deep-sea diving in Florida waters is easily subject to caricature, as is his handling of many aspects of the conflict. Yet it is infinitely simpler to write about Lewis than to negotiate with him; and to project long-range solutions for the coal industry than to find ways of dealing with its day-to-day problems. Nationalization is still the only cure for the sickness of coal that makes any sense. But it is obviously not the way out of the present deadlock, with Republican Lewis opposing the project as firmly as Democrat Burke. I have some doubt, too, whether the most flagrant example of labor totalitarianism—the U. M. W.—affords a solid bulwark for an experiment in democratic socialization.

TRIUMPH OF SHOWMANSHIP

There is a sad magnificence about Lewis's performance, despite the backwardness of his economic thinking, the arrogance of his demeanor, the monolithic rigidity of his union. His arrivals and departures have again become theatrical events, and he rarely falls on his face. The stage is his own once more; from it he imparts the sense that his enemies are Lilliputians and that he is the personification of justice. There are moments when the play becomes so completely the thing that the dimensions of the struggle he has provoked seem almost unreal.

The government obtained its restraining order at 2 p. m. on Monday the eighteenth, after Attorney General Clark had filed a petition resurrecting the notorious doctrine of the Debs case. The deadline for compliance was midnight of the following Wednesday. For the next forty-eight hours there was almost pathetic hope in many places that Lewis would back down. Men recalled the precedent of 1919 when Lewis bowed to an injunction, proclaiming that he would not fight his government, "the greatest government on earth." From Key West came word that Truman was resolutely fishing. There would be no appeasement, no peace gestures, no deals.

But in Atlantic City the C. I. O. was unhappily rallying in opposition to the injunction move. In Washington William Green protested against the government's course. Lewis must have found solace for long years of abuse and exile in the headlines Wednesday afternoon: "A. F. L., C. I. O. Back Lewis." Throughout the day the mine leader again cloaked his movements in mystery. Then, although the phalanx of reporters and photographers keeping an all-day vigil had never seen him enter the Mine Workers building, he emerged in late afternoon. He greeted the throng with a single word: "Gentlemen." Amid exploding flashlight bulbs and the familiar whirring of newsreel cameras, he strode to his limousine and drove off in the twilight.

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He retired to his home in Alexandria for the evening, giving no final answer to the question that shadowed the Capital. As time wore on, his answer became painfully apparent. It was officially announced by the miners when they walked out at midnight.

He had nothing to gain by surrender, nothing to lose—at that stage—by defiance. Now it was the government's move again. Late on Thursday the show-cause order was issued after a long day of feverish activity. Lewis was still at home in Alexandria, his house surrounded by curious bystanders and exhausted journalists. He stayed inside, delaying his reappearance until Friday. By then the build-up was complete. John L. Lewis leaving his home in Alexandria was a front-page picture. So were the photographic records of Lewis entering his headquarters, Lewis strolling through the streets to the Carleton Hotel, with a parade of onlookers, reporters, and photographers behind him. In the Carleton lobby an elderly lady rushed up to him. Lewis swept off his black hat, bowed, and thanked her for her good wishes. The crowd was still pursuing him when he returned to his office after lunch, striding along like an aged matinee idol out for a constitutional.

As this is written, the stage is set for his courtroom appearance. Although unforeseen changes in the script may conceivably cancel the performance, people are already preparing to descend on the District Court in large numbers. Among government lawyers there is sharp dispute as to the validity of the injunction case. The surviving liberals here have diminishing enthusiasm for the project. "Injunction granted" sounds like a throwback to an earlier, uglier time.

Psychologically Lewis remains on the offensive, despite tough talk from "high Administration officials." Everybody knows that there must be a revision of wage scales in the next few months; they merely regret that Lewis is leading the procession. The more enlightened Administration members know that the behavior of Congress is unpredictable. At least one official remarked, "We may not like what Congress does any more than labor will." Meanwhile, all the familiar and remembered accompaniments of a coal crisis are repeated, like a faded newsreel—the conservation measures, the brown-outs, the freight reductions, the rumors.

As the play unfolds, one inevitably reverts to the earlier questions: Is this the showdown that some sections of industry and finance talked about over highballs during the long Roosevelt nightmare? Are the barons of big business more class conscious than the most orthodox Marxists, convinced of the inevitability of the great class struggle and eager to rush to the barricades? Are the coal operators the front-line troops in a labor-capital civil war? Is Lewis prepared for martyrdom as the climax of his career, leading the armies of labor into all-out savage conflict? At this moment no one here knows the answers, but the uncertainty indicates that a deal may still be made. There have been surprise endings to the Lewis plays before.

Wanted, a Bandwagon

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, November 22

CAPITOL HILL is comparatively quiet these windy days as the victorious Republicans beat the bushes in search of a bandwagon. It must be a special kind of bandwagon, one which will still look shiny and attractive two years from now.

In their conferences the G. O. P. Senators and Representatives have agreed at least on one point: their party was not swept into power by any program or policy or clever strategy. The election was simply the answer to the poster "Had Enough? Vote Republican." This same slogan could conceivably be borrowed by the Democrats in 1948, and the Republicans are only too unhappily aware of it. They must find some way of holding all the dissatisfied groups, which include Jewish, Catholic, and Negro voters, labor, farmers, veterans, small business men. Meanwhile, the G. O. P. has borrowed and adapted to its own uses two rather fashionable devices—the iron curtain and the John L. Lewis "wait-and-see" approach.

The man who first saw and understood the G. O. P. dilemma is Senator Taft. He listened to the clamor of confused voices from the Hill and then lectured his colleagues behind closed doors about two things. First, they should restrain their impulses to issue statements and hold press conferences; and, second, they were warned, for God's sake, not to commit the party to a definite program this early in the game. Conditions might arise which would make it impossible to save nine billion dollars or cut taxes 20 per cent across the board. That would make the Republicans look silly.

The leaders have tried to hush up the intra-party conflicts. The big fight over Taft's candidacy for floor leader was carefully squelched on the advice of Taft himself. Taft will divide the G. O. P. direction with Wherry, the majority whip. Taft will concoct the strategy, and Wherry will drive his forces into action. The guarded truce between the two will continue.

One fire the Republican command has not put out is

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that started by the conservatives to keep Senator Aiken of Vermont out of a key committee chairmanship, and the refusal of the spunky, white-haired liberal to take this lying down. Aiken is in line for either the Agriculture or the Labor Committee leadership, but the dominant conservative group would prefer to let him languish as chairman of the Committee on Pensions. Taft may take the Labor Committee for himself largely because he realizes that labor legislation is one of the trickiest issues his party will have to face.

This morning there was an outbreak of statements from Republicans—and from Democrats—urging President Truman to call a special session of Congress to enact labor legislation. But none of the real G. O. P. strategists entered the lists. Representative Clare Hoffman and Senator Joe Ball have become the two most outraged anti-labor figures on the Republican side of the aisle. Another voice was that of Representative Clarence Brown, who is actively campaigning for House majority leader. His opponent, Charles Halleck, answered coldly that he might recall that Congress last session wanted to pass the Case bill, which Halleck wrote, and was blocked by the President.

Halleck, who roughly corresponds to Senator Taft in the House, does not want a special session of Congress. The Republicans just don't want to be put on the spot so soon. They would much prefer to have Harry Truman be a public target for sixty days more. If he can manage to sour labor on the Democrats once and for all, so much the better.

The Democrats have not even begun to lift a bloody head from the election returns. The President is one of the few members of his party who take a cheerful view of the country. Mr. Truman is relieved by the election and a decision he has made—not to run in 1948. He feels that he is freed of much responsibility and all political pressures and can do as he wants to. This was indicated last week-end when the Administration decided to get tough with John L. Lewis, completely reversing its previous stand. Dr. Steelman, who was inclined to play ball with Lewis, was shoved aside. (Perhaps he is being saved for a rainy day.) The man who guided Mr. Truman's decision on coal was Clark Clifford, the aggressive and clever St. Louis lawyer who wrote the so-called Truman labor bill last spring and the President's speech denouncing A. F. Whitney. Truman and Clifford went even farther than Secretary of the Interior Krug, who only wanted to show John Lewis that he couldn't loud-talk the government into reopening the contract.

The President, in common with many small-town politicians and business men, feels personally irritated by "big business" and "big labor." While for a time this spring he was fascinated by the dramatics of John Lewis, he is now angry at him and has given the signal to go after him hammer and tongs and throw him in jail if necessary. The President, however, has a history of retreating under pressure, and if the country suddenly decides three weeks from now that it wants coal more than it wants Lewis's head, Harry Truman may become convinced that is what he wants, too.

Right Face in Japan

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

AN INNATE desire for collectivist solutions never lies very far below the surface in Japan. People of all classes now believe that in a country so devoid of natural resources considerable socialization is the sole alternative to a resumption of the old imperialist drive for export markets. Even the owners of industry, fearing unlimited competition for severely limited raw materials, for a time supported the nationalization of basic industries. Socialism, it is thought, will be able to strive for a maximum importation of raw materials rather than money profit, and for a higher standard of living for the people.

HAROLD STRAUSS is chief editor of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. This is the last of three articles on Japan based on information he gathered as a member of the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP.

At first the Supreme Commander's staff (SCAP) tolerated this view. But suddenly, about May 20, 1946, the complexion of occupation policy was changed. MacArthur denounced the relatively mild hunger demonstrations before the Imperial Palace, even though he had been directed to permit the people to overthrow their old rulers by force if they so chose; a security blackout was clamped down on GHQ; war-time hush-hush was revived. Routine reports were classified as secret, and if they so much as mentioned socialism, communism, or leftist political tendencies among the Japanese, they were suppressed by "a command decision based on the delicate nature of the existing situation." Even more formidable was the barrier erected against our Allies: Dutch, British, and Russian routine requests for information were turned down on the pretext of lack of personnel. In the last week of October all SCAP "conferences," including those with Japanese, were classified as secret, and Amer-

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ican newsmen were limited to the use of official hand-outs.

Simultaneously, American personnel was drastically purged. Individuals were haled before the G-2 chief, General Willoughby, and asked whether they were Communists. Reserve officers who had months to serve under the War Department's discharge plan were suddenly ordered home, to their own joy. Civilian employees had to be eased out by more devious methods. Before this happened, SCAP personnel had been broadly representative of all shades of American political opinion. But the replacements were to a large extent either experts "borrowed" from the National City Bank, the big silk companies, and other business concerns with a heavy stake in Japan or young pirates of whom the *Wall Street Journal* wrote, "Military government is rapidly becoming a training ground for Americans who plan to go into business in Japan." By July the number of paunchy, sack-suited, panama-hatted executive types in their middle fifties whom one met in downtown Tokyo gave one the illusion that the local branch of the United States Chamber of Commerce was in session. British, Dutch, and Chinese—not to mention Russian—trade representatives were noticeably absent. Such is "equality of economic opportunity" in action.

RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

About this time SCAP ceased to issue directives of any importance, for the reason that all directives must be debated before the Allied Council for Japan, where they are subject to criticism by General Derevyanko and the brilliant British representative, J. MacMahon Ball, both of whom wield an educative influence on Japanese public opinion even though they are powerless to alter SCAP policy. This influence is so strong that the reactionary Burton Crane, in his dispatches to the New York *Times*, has begun an underhanded campaign to have Mr. Ball replaced. Instead of issuing formal directives, staff officers now merely intimate the Supreme Commander's desires to conservative Japanese officials.

In July, in the course of an attack on a Soviet twenty-two-point proposal for a new labor policy, bumbling George Atcheson, Jr., made his now-famous anti-Communist statement. When Mr. Ball insisted that the Soviet proposal was "designed for the good of the people" and denied that it contained "any signs of Communist propaganda," Mr. Atcheson was forced to admit that he had expressed only his personal opinion; but the damage was already done. Like clockwork a Diet member denounced Communists in the trade unions, and Welfare Minister Kawai replied that although the government cannot exclude Communists because it is not allowed to control the unions, "the views of Mr. Atcheson will be respected." He added that he was optimistic about the economic future because "*the imminent growth of unemployment* would increase the industrial reserve army and automatically check the outbreak of labor disputes."

In scores of lesser matters the tide of reaction was evident. The sudden conservatism of SCAP-controlled Japanese newscasts after May 22 was widely remarked. The Japanese press, which had been well to the left of the public, took note of SCAP-inspired tokens and portents and veered obediently to the right. The case of *Yomiuri* was notable. The liberal editorial committee which had taken over the management of the newspaper from Matsutaro Shoriki, now awaiting trial as a war criminal, was in turn forced out by SCAP on the pretext that Allied press control hinged on "responsible ownership." The tightly organized employees struck for the reinstatement of the committee. To our shame and to the irreparable damage of the people's opinion of the occupation, Tomin Suzuki, the chief of the committee and one of the most brilliant writers in Japan, was brought before a mediation meeting arranged by SCAP in handcuffs and chains, with the bruises and cuts of obvious police brutality evident on his head and face. Responsibility did not lie with SCAP's Labor Division, whose able chief, Theodore Cohen, scathingly reprimanded the police officials; it lay with those SCAP agencies whose actions suggested to the police that their old anti-union methods were once again in order.

LABOR AND PRICE CONTROL

SCAP's entire labor policy, which had previously transmuted 300,000 house-broken company unionists into more than 3,000,000 militant and well-organized workers, was on the verge of collapse. On four occasions between June and September MacArthur cracked down on strikes and demonstrations. As a protest signed by a number of unions put it, "We cannot but feel that GHQ is supporting the suppression of the right to hold public meetings and the right to strike." Without changing the letter of any directive, labor policy was so effectively reversed that on October 9 Old Japan Hand Burton Crane, representative of a group of Americans in Tokyo who would like to see restored the feudal conditions which worked to their personal advantage before the war, was able to cable the New York *Times*, "Government circles are beginning to feel that General MacArthur is not really opposed to their taking steps to check improper union action." Charges by Socialist members of the Diet that the government is supporting the

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capitalists in labor disputes are now a frequent occurrence. The morale of labor is shaken.

Nor is the SCAP-inspired reactionary tone of government policy confined to labor questions. The appointed Shidehara interim government had inaugurated in February a strong deflation and price-control policy which would have worked if it had been backed by a vigorous drive to restore production. But the conservative Yoshida government which was installed in May, after the election, appointed an avowed inflationist, Tanzan Ishibashi, as its Finance Minister. On May 4 Mr. Ishibashi, in a shrewd political bid for the appointment, had proposed to relax the key controls over corporate finances. After his appointment he said he would follow a policy of "reflation," a word which certainly has no meaning when the starting point is inflation. He showed his true colors on October 22, when without relaxing the stringent controls on consumer incomes he permitted the official retail price for rice to rise to 90 yen a bushel. On August 9 he had said that "the way to stabilize prices is to stabilize business first"; that is, business is to have everything it wants in order to obtain increased production, and let the consumer look out for himself.

This is not just the Japanese equivalent of the destruction of the OPA by reactionaries; it actually paves the way for the recovery of the industrial tycoons, the Zaibatsu, whom we are pledged to destroy. For although their top holding companies have been strait-jacketed by SCAP, as individuals and through dummies they are free to speculate in stocks of raw materials, which sometimes change hands three times a day, and in industrial properties. This is exactly the method whereby the Krupps recouped their fortunes in Germany after the last war. A true deflationary policy would have pushed the Zaibatsu, who are greatly hampered by the huge indebtedness they were forced to assume in order to finance war production, into bankruptcy in law as well as in fact; and this in turn would have facilitated the redistribution of their industrial empires along desirable lines. Ishibashi's inflationary policy, however, is rapidly increasing the value of their assets in proportion to their debts and enabling them to escape bankruptcy. Thus even though technical liquidation of the eleven largest Zaibatsu trusts is being forced—slowly—by SCAP, the old Zaibatsu families will accumulate an enormous kitty in cash or cash equivalents which can be put to work after ten years. Furthermore, the war profiteers, who were much more closely connected with Japan's militarists than the well-publicized Mitsuis and Mitsubishis, are untouched by SCAP directives. It would be interesting to learn why the investigation of a contractor named Ando, a "new Zaibatsu," who was alleged to have bought his way into SCAP favor, was labeled top secret and suppressed.

Another key Japanese who has a hand in making economic policy is a ridiculous little man by the name of Keinosuke Zen. His job, exceedingly difficult under the circumstances, is to do nothing. On paper, as chairman of the Economic Stabilization Board, he has complete and dictatorial powers over Japan's economy. He was appointed in May by the Yoshida Cabinet in order to suggest to the people that the previous Cabinet's policy of inaction would be reversed. But Zen has proved to be a master at stalling. First he proclaimed himself merely a go-between; then he blocked the appointment of the other members of the board; and finally he announced that he could not act until certain bills—introduced into the Diet only on October 11—had been passed. Meanwhile he passed his time writing enlightening articles for popular magazines which explained that under socialism a farmer would have to share his cow and his wife, and that common laborers and trained technicians would receive the same daily wage. Mr. Zen appears to be in the good graces of SCAP.

MACARTHUR AND THE ELECTIONS

Some American progressives feel that this trend is due principally to MacArthur's engineering of a general election at an early date, before the parties suppressed by the militarists had a chance to reorganize their machinery. MacArthur's action, in turn, they attribute to his innate reactionary disposition. Their analysis overlooks the dramatic purging of Hatoyama, the man slated to head the conservative government, at a time calculated to give maximum assistance to the Socialists, and shows a misunderstanding of the political situation in Japan. The people, always amenable to authority and already beginning to worship MacArthur, were reluctant to organize any opposition to the appointed Shidehara government, which appeared to have SCAP backing. In order to help the people acquire a rudimentary sense of political responsibility, it was imperative to instal an elected government, no matter how reactionary, at the earliest moment. The people had to learn that they had only themselves to blame for the inadequacies of their government.

It was clear that a conservative government would be returned, for the spirit of feudalism is deeply ingrained in the numerically dominant rural prefectures. But it was also clear that any party coming to power would soon fall into disrepute with the electorate. The problems of food, shelter, clothing, and inflation cannot be solved within the time limits imposed by popular patience, and *any* party empowered in 1946 will be thrown out in 1947.

The conservative parties knew this all too well. Criticism of MacArthur runs afoul the fact that these parties during six long weeks in April and May tried to evade the responsibility of forming a conservative government and even tried to entice the Social Democrats into a coalition. They thereby intended to play upon the feudal instincts of the Japanese, who like the seeming unanimity

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of the "family-council" method of decision and habitually strive to avoid open parliamentary debates. The Socialists hung for weeks on the verge of consent. Had they accepted, there would have been no parliamentary opposition, decisions would have appeared to be as unopposed, "unanimous," and authoritarian as formerly, and the people would have learned nothing of democratic methods. The present upsurge of political consciousness, attested by the wave of political strikes, would have been circumvented. When the Socialists decided to go into opposition, MacArthur issued a statement specifically praising this move as a major step toward democracy. It was the last progressive action taken by SCAP.

The Yoshida government has failed miserably, in spite of the alleviation of the people's lot by the good luck of a bumper rice crop and a benevolent attitude on the part of SCAP toward imports. Since its political weakness is already manifest, the real test of SCAP intentions will come early in 1947. There is much talk that, following anticipated gains by the Socialists in local elections, a new national election will be held then. If SCAP maneuvers to prop up the Yoshida government and to put off the elections in the name of "order," the degradation of occupation policy will be finally demonstrated.

PARTIAL SOCIALIZATION ESSENTIAL

SCAP's thin defense, of course, will be the international situation. But though it may try to justify its anti-red moves on the ground of short-term strategy, any opposition to moderate socialism in Japan can lead only to disaster. Japanese industrialists themselves have testified that in default of the tightest sort of planning, government controls, and bilateral trade agreements, the scarcity of raw materials and other pressures will soon strangle free competition. Free trade is an impossibility in Japan. And using the antics of the Russians as a pretext to avoid rationalizing the Japanese economy is stupidity of the first order.

We have three possible choices: the present expensive policy of maintaining the Japanese as our wards and supplying them with whatever raw materials they need—a policy which has led to alarmed Chinese forecasts that Japan will become the greatest manufacturing and trading nation in Asia, as well as a military bulwark against the Soviet Union; the Byrnes policy of free economic opportunity, which will lead straight back to the struggle for export markets out of which the war arose; and a policy of fostering a planned, partially socialized economy which will seek to raise the standard of living of the Japanese people and eliminate imperialistic pressures.

The American Political Scene

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

III. The Return to Reaction

London, November 10

IT HARDLY required the great Republican victory in the recent election to convey to an observer of American politics that the Roosevelt epoch had closed, and closed, in T. S. Eliot's classic phrase, "not with a bang, but a whimper." The liberals left Washington after Mr. Truman was in office, first by twos and threes, then in droves. The "raucous voices" in both parties made themselves heard with a vigor and self-confidence they had not dared to display since the great depression. There was a new wave of anti-Negro feeling in the South. There was obviously a new incentive for the crude purveyors of anti-Semitism; Gerald L. K. Smith and his like had begun, very clearly, to feel that a fresh opportunity had come their way. The men who had founded the old Liberty League began to renew their contacts with one another. The National Association of Manufacturers issued propaganda obviously built upon the assumption that the initiative was returning to their hands.

HAROLD J. LASKI is one of the leaders of the British Labor Party and the author of many books on government. This is the last of three articles in which he has presented the conclusions reached in the course of a recent visit to America.

There are, I think, three outstanding ideas which dominate the American social consciousness at the moment. The first is the conviction that America is in a position virtually to dictate the policy of the world. That is born partly of the natural exuberance brought by victory and the knowledge that American productive capacity was so large a factor in the common triumph, and partly of the knowledge of America's unequaled technological skill in an age when such skill is the key to economic advance. Partly, again, it is the result of the pretty plain fact that the swift recovery of other nations from the war depends upon American aid; without this aid the very existence of European civilization is insecure. The profound conviction that the center of world destiny is now in the United States finds symbolic recognition in the decision to place the headquarters of the U. N. there.

At long last America is really free from dependence on Europe. This has sharpened the nationalism of a

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people which has always suffered from a feeling of inferiority to Europe. Freedom from that inferiority gives a widespread sense of an indispensable authority it is no longer possible to challenge. And that sense is deepened, if a little uneasily, by the fact that the American government is the sole possessor of the atomic bomb. Hiroshima and Nagasaki hardly made a greater impression on Tokyo than they have made in Washington.

BUSINESS TAKES CHARGE

A self-confident nationalism is, then, the first great feature in the contemporary pattern of American thought. The second is a willingness to go back on a good deal of the Roosevelt experiment and try once more what the business men can do with a largely uncontrolled economy. Whether this reaction would have occurred if President Truman and his supporters had decided to defend the Roosevelt heritage it is difficult to say. But they abandoned it at the outset by liquidating the rationing system almost immediately after the defeat of Japan. Once they made the choice, the Democratic Party ceased to have either an attitude or a policy by which it could be distinguished from the Republican; it was easy therefore for the voter to throw his weight on the side of the party to which Mr. Roosevelt and all his works had been anathema.

In abandoning the Roosevelt heritage Mr. Truman made the shaping of the post-war economic policy of America the concern of business and not of Congress. The business view was the simple one that the more unimpeded was the mechanism of the market the greater would be the national prosperity, and, as usual, that labor's share of well-being would be properly decided by the play of supply and demand in the market. Hence the hostility to the Kilgore bill; hence also the enthusiasm, to which Senator Taft has given such frequent expression, for amendment of the Wagner act. But dependence upon a market economy in a period when demand was immense and supply necessarily small brought about a wave of strikes which had the twofold result of breeding hostility to the labor unions among large sections of the public and arresting the process of reconversion, thereby continuing the irritation of short supplies. Far too few Americans have realized the speed and the depth of Mr. Truman's abandonment of a controlled economy. They attribute to control the ills and inconveniences which are actually the outcome of the policy so long preached by the Republican Party, the authentic guardian of the business interests. With the Republicans dominating both houses of Congress, and with a President who now, on economic matters, has no effective difference with the Republicans, the business man is, in fact, reinvested with the authority that he lost in 1932. And he has also a renewed faith that it ought broadly to be used for what is so curiously called "free enterprise." Economically, business will seek ways and means of returning as rapidly as it can to as much as can be found of the climate of 1929. Mr. Hoover, so to say, is back in power.

VANDENBERG OVER BYRNES

The third outstanding feature of the political landscape is the character of American foreign policy. Though this is a joint affair of the two parties, in its continuing definition Senator Vandenberg will now count for more than Mr. Byrnes, for through his chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations he will dominate the process of ratifying the results of negotiation. Mr. Byrnes, to put it bluntly, must agree with Senator Vandenberg or find himself reduced to futility. American foreign policy will therefore continue to be anti-Russian in its major inspiration. It will refrain from assisting all governments which it believes to be within the orbit of Russian influence, as in its recent rebuff to Czechoslovakia over a loan. It will be hostile to any move, such as Mr. Bevin recently proposed, to socialize the key German industries. Even though the fact is inescapable that no viable German democracy is possible without that socialization, America will resist it with all its influence, political and economic alike. The dualistic policy in China will continue until the failure of General Marshall's mission can no longer be denied; at that stage all America's support will be thrown to General Chiang Kai-shek, which will mean keeping China divided and maintaining in power, partly on doctrinal and partly on commercial grounds, the corrupt and reactionary elements of the Kuomintang. I fear that a policy of deliberate abstention from action against General Franco will prevail; 1948 is too near for either party to risk the loss of the Roman Catholic vote.

Moreover, it will be increasingly difficult, I suggest, to persuade the American government to active economic cooperation on an international basis. For all practical purposes, it has already torpedoed the promising and imaginative scheme by which Sir John Boyd Orr proposed to safeguard the future against famine. It has restored free competition, with its grave potentialities for disaster, in the realm of food purchases by foreign nations in America. In the International Trade Conference all its emphasis has been on free access to markets, whereas other members have stressed need for full employment. And its own attitude to bases for strategic purposes stands in significant contrast to its suspicion of the Russian search for security and its urging that other nations put their colonies under the direction of the Trusteeship Council of the U. N.

It is difficult to survey the prospect for the next two years in America without concluding that there will be either the virtual paralysis of government or a de facto coalition government in which the Republican Party will be the senior partner. The consequence of the turn Mr. Truman gave to events is therefore to enthrone conservatism in office. What he has done, in practice, is to

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expel the liberal elements in the Democratic Party from any share in authority. They can only hope to stage a return to influence if a serious catastrophe occurs. That is not outside the range of possibility, since the danger of inflation is very real. And if there is inflation, neither Mr. Truman nor the Republicans have any sort of coherent policy to deal with its consequences at home, much less abroad. No doubt there would be frenzied improvisations to meet any domestic crisis, but it is difficult to believe that the politicians now in office would feel that the foreign repercussions of such a crisis were America's concern. Here, at least, they may well invoke the unhappy precedent established by Mr. Roosevelt when he wrecked the World Economic Conference in 1933.

CONSERVATISM IN THE SADDLE

Conservatism is firmly in power in the United States at a time when the rest of the world is overwhelmingly moving leftward. It is all too clear that those in authority in Washington view with dislike, even with alarm, this leftward trend. That was made evident when so representative a figure in American big business as Bernard Baruch warned his fellow-citizens against any financial support for socialist experiments in Great Britain. It is clear, again, in the absence of any deep feeling in America at the outcome of British policy in Greece. It is manifested in the MacArthur policy in Japan, which has not only made the occupation of Japan virtually an American monopoly, but has been careful to develop constitutionalism there as a political form with, as yet, few if any signs of economic substance behind it.

Whoever is being encouraged to look forward to effective authority in a future Japan, it is certainly not the common people. Not the least reason for the retention of the Emperor is that his very existence as a constitutional monarch screens off, as it were, the Japanese workers from any real hope of power in the foreseeable future. It is to the Japanese right and center, barring of course the ardent militarists, that General MacArthur has lent the weight of his support. The real battles for democracy in Japan will only begin when the American occupation has come to a close; and when that occurs, business Japan, stripped no doubt of most of its military potential, will be intrenched pretty firmly in power. To put it succinctly, Republican America is being matched by Republican Japan. The one has a beaten President; the other has a beaten Emperor. As much as possible, the occupation seeks to mold Japan in the pattern that a good Republican in Kansas or Michigan would approve.

Nor is it unimportant to watch the growing alliance between big business and the General Staff in Washington. That appears supremely, of course, in the economic relations built around the development of atomic energy. But it is inherent in the power of the Joint Chiefs of Staffs, headed by the very reactionary Admiral Leahy, to by-pass, with the consent of the President, the civilian Secretaries to whom each of them was previously subordinate. In matters of vital secrecy I suspect this will mean that, with the consent of the Republican leadership, President Truman will give the Joint Chiefs of Staff their head, and there will be less of public discussion of their most urgent activities than has ever happened before in peace time. And since all these activities require pretty close liaison with steel and chemicals and oil and the like, but not, very notably, with labor, a relationship for the future will be built which is bound to have repercussions far outside the area of international affairs and of security from military aggression. That is an important portent. The alliance of the armed forces and big business makes it difficult to strengthen the liberal element now in any country.

Caricature by Seligson

Senator Vandenberg

It is, moreover, notable that all the key industrial states are now in Republican hands. That means an immense access of strength to business in the administrative implementation of its come-back. It means that the general pattern of state policy in economic matters will be set by influences which go directly back to the outlook of the N. A. M. On any showing, this is a grim position for the liberals; perhaps it is still more grim for the labor movement. For in the next two years both John L. Lewis and Philip Murray are going to find little willingness to meet their demands. All the would-be nominees for the Presidency in 1948 are going to vie with each other in insisting that militant labor be taught its place; and I doubt whether Mr. Truman has either the initiative or the imagination—even if he could get the support—to emerge as the champion of labor claims against a solid business phalanx that is in a position to wreck any effort he might make to recover the liberal heritage he so wantonly threw away after the Japanese defeat.

WAITING FOR 1952

I am not arguing that there is not plenty of real liberalism in America. I am arguing only that in the eighteen months since Franklin Roosevelt died it has lost the power of strategic initiative. It has to fight a costly rearguard action against an enemy which not only has won the first round of the battle but is supremely confident that the second is already in its hands. It has, further, to fight in the knowledge that the very men

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have deserted it for whom, in the next two years, it might have hoped to organize a fighting chance of victory. Historical analogies are dangerous things. But I see no reason to believe that Henry Wallace has any greater chance of mobilizing the liberal forces for a great battle than Woodrow Wilson had almost thirty years ago. The crucial date for a liberal revival is, on all the obvious chances, 1952; but the speed at which the shadows darken around us make waiting for 1952 a graver matter than waiting for 1932 was in 1920.

We are back at the Old Deal when circumstances have made its central principles almost painfully obsolete. I wish I could see more clearly how much chance there remains for American liberalism after men like Senator Vandenberg and Senator Taft have given their energies for the next years to applying those principles as a policy despite their obsolescence. American liberals would do well to gird up their loins. For it is something more than a fair guess that, if they have the courage, they may have to battle for a Lord who will stand for more than a mythology that has long ceased to edify. At least they must be acutely aware that a dead past sits triumphantly where, less than two years ago, the emerging future excited the hopes of the whole world.

India in Travail

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, November 19

INDIA has lived through some months of unparalleled Hindu-Moslem conflict. First came the extensive riots in Calcutta in the middle of August, in which it is estimated 5,000 people were killed and about three times that number injured. The riots synchronized significantly with "Direct Action Day," observed by the Moslem League throughout India. The Hindu and Sikh retaliation during the late stages of the riots caused an unexpectedly large number of Moslem casualties.

The campaign of hatred and violence then spread to the remote districts of East Bengal, where the Hindus form a small minority of the population. For a week or more in the first half of October Moslem gangsters had the Hindus at their mercy. One cannot say how many were murdered, for it is easy to throw bodies into the rivers and canals of that waterlogged region. Estimates vary from the 200 or fewer reported by the British governor of Bengal to 5,000. Large numbers of Hindu women were "converted" and abducted after the murder of their husbands and sons.

These occurrences in Bengal drove the Hindus in other parts of India into a dangerous mood of despair, and nowhere was indignation stronger than in the neighboring province of Behar. Every year a considerable number of Behari workers go to Calcutta and Bengal for employment, and hundreds must have died during the August riots. Hardly a town or village in the province was unaffected. As Nehru explained last week in the course of a deeply impressive statement, the Beharis waited patiently for weeks in the hope that the higher Bengal government or the Central government—especially the latter since it contains the Congress Party leaders like Nehru—would do something. But nothing happened beyond the appointment of a commission of inquiry at Calcutta, which proceeded with an astonishing lack of vigor.

Other things are troubling India. Nearly a million men have been demobilized in the last twelvemonth, and only a small fraction of them have found work. These men—peasants in peace time—had better food and clothing during the war than they had ever known before. Some of them were found among the gangsters looting and raping in East Bengal. Having been recruited from all over India, these men are now scattered through the country.

The ministries functioning under the control of the Congress Party have held out the promise of almost immediate abolition of the "Zamindari" landlord system prevailing in various parts of India—a system which permits absentee landlords to extort vast incomes from a backward peasantry through the agency of unscrupulous middlemen. There is much talk of collective farming of peasant-owned land and of education, housing and medical relief, and other amenities. The peasant grasps little of this except that the landlords and petty village tyrants, whom he detests but has patiently endured, are doomed to disappear within an extremely short time.

The outstanding fact of the Indian situation is that the prestige of the governing classes has diminished almost to the vanishing point. Officials who have run the British administration of India for decades must terminate their contracts with the British in a few months. Probably the majority will prefer to retire rather than continue in the service under greatly altered conditions. These men's hearts are no longer in their work; they are packing up

SHIVA RAO is on the staff of the Hindu *of Madras and correspondent in India of the Manchester* Guardian.

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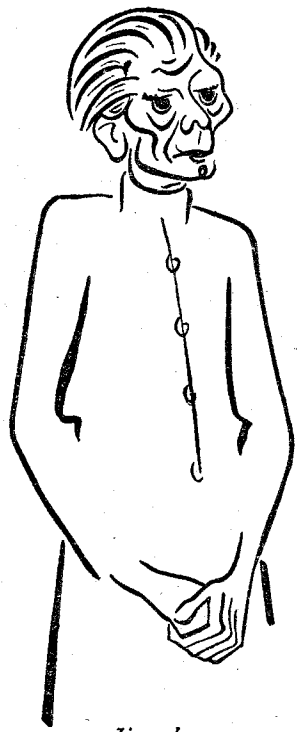

Jinnah

to leave India—literally or figuratively. Many of them have sent Nehru and thousands of his followers to prison more than once, and it is inconceivable that they could now conscientiously serve his government.

The problems of Nehru and his Cabinet are stupendous. They have undertaken the administration of India after six years of an exhausting war during which the country was run with an iron hand by the British Viceroy with the aid of the British civil and military services and such Indians as were willing to cooperate. Nowhere else in the world have the rebels of yesterday been called upon to assume charge of the government of their country and to run it with the instruments which have resisted them all these many years.

And this is not the whole picture. It was the Cabinet's and Nehru's declared belief that the substance of political power had passed into their hands and that the Viceroy's authority had correspondingly diminished to something like that of the Governor General of Australia or Canada. Before Nehru had time to consolidate his position, Lord Wavell hastened negotiations with Jinnah in order to bring the Moslem League into the Cabinet. The Viceroy assured Nehru that Jinnah would cooperate with the Congress leaders in both the Cabinet and the Constituent Assembly. Jinnah himself has kept out of Nehru's Cabinet, but he nominated five members on behalf of the Moslem League—one of them strangely not a Moslem but an untouchable from Bengal. From inside the Cabinet they have repudiated Jinnah's assurances conveyed through the Viceroy. They refuse to recognize Nehru as de facto Premier, maintaining that under the existing constitution the Viceroy is the real head of the government. They do not feel bound by the conventions which Nehru has been striving to establish. In fact, they don't consider it a coalition government at all, as Jinnah frankly revealed last week. The League's nominees joined the government, he said, as sentinels to watch over Moslem interests from the inside, since they could not afford to intrust the administration of the country to the Congress Party.

Jinnah wants absolute and immediate Pakistan, with an exchange of populations if necessary. Someone asked him what would happen in the country during the next six months if he did not succeed in achieving Pakistan. "You've seen what is happening and that will continue," he replied, unmoved by the ghastly events in Behar and Bengal.

Social, economic, and political unrest is rapidly increasing as a result of the stresses developed by the war and its aftermath, an administrative structure which is plainly unequal to dealing with this unrest, a government divided into two halves—Congress and the Moslem League—incapable of acting together because of their fundamentally different ideologies. Many are asking whether this strange experiment will last. The Viceroy has shown greater solicitude for the prestige of the provincial governors and of himself as Viceroy than for the welfare of the Indian masses. British labor may have decided to transfer power to the Indian people, but such a transfer must take place through the Viceroy, the governors, and the British civil and military servants—men who, with few exceptions, subscribe to Churchill's conception of the British Empire. Lord Wavell was Churchill's choice for the vice-royalty of India, made under dramatic circumstances at Washington on May 19, 1943.

The word sabotage has been used by the nationalist press here to describe the British imperialist attitude toward the Labor Cabinet's plans. Churchill is openly encouraging India's minority leaders to adopt a defiant policy. A formidable combination of vested interests is fighting with skill and without scruples to prevent the swift and peaceful transfer of political power — the landlords, the British privileged classes both official and commercial, some of the Indian princes, Moslems like Jinnah. Designing men are exploiting the social and economic unrest for their own unworthy ends. It is possible that India may be plunged into civil war despite the efforts of Gandhi and Nehru.

To prevent such a catastrophe the Labor Cabinet must send a new Viceroy, one more capable of translating its policy into concrete action than Lord Wavell, one more understanding of social democracy than a professional soldier can be. It is impossible to turn back at this stage. If British Labor wants to retain India's friendship, it must go forward rapidly and remove all those, however high placed they may be, who cannot accept its principles.

Caricatures by Seligson

Nehru

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UNESCO Gets to Work

BY A. G. MEZERIK

NEARLY every day the papers I read and the radio I listen to feature the United Nations. I would have guessed, with all the coverage the U. N. has been getting, that only characters like Lil Abner and Lester Jeeter were unaware that the United States is a member of the United Nations. But Mr. Gallup's survey tell me I am wrong. Thirty per cent of Americans, it seems, almost one out of every three, do not know this country is part of that well-publicized world body.

Of course none of the 30 per cent are *Nation* readers. *Nation* readers, if polled, would know the answer to that one, but would they be just as well informed about UNESCO? I have conducted a private "man in the street, bar, office, and living-room survey," only to find that my best friends can't tell me what it is. Some announce that the synthetic word stands for United Nations Economic and Social Council—which it could but does not. My lowbrow drinking companions recognize it immediately as a competitor of Nabisco. Almost no one knows that this is UNESCO month, or that UNESCO is the international organization which is to undertake the staggering burden of teaching—not just telling—the world the aims of the U. N. and its specialized agencies. Indeed, it is much more than that—for UNESCO is designed to be the ideological arm with which the world builds peace, as the United Nations is its extremely shaky security arm. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is a big mouthful, but if it is ever permitted to do its job, and turns out to be capable of doing it, there may really be peace on earth.

When the international exchange of scientific information is under discussion, as now with UNESCO, everybody is cordial and cooperative, but a glance at the record is discouraging. Julian Huxley, executive secretary of UNESCO, has been on an almost fruitless quest for international organizations with which his own could work. Among the engineers he found no worldwide group; the engineers have never been able to form and hold together an organization transcending national boundaries. Jealousy is often given as the reason, but look a little deeper and more sinister reasons appear. Engineering has long been the handmaiden of monopolies and large corporations, and engineers will tell you that in the desire of corporations to control trade secrets and processes lies the real reason for their lack of international organization.

Engineering has had military and strategic connections, too, and those may provide a corollary reason. The physicists working on the atomic bomb have felt the heavy hand of the military. Talk of worldwide exchange of information by scientists and engineers is indeed optimistic in the face of military demands for strict isolationist curbs. As science becomes of strategic significance, scientists are restrained by law, by economic pressure, and by appeals to patriotism from exchanging the results of their studies with scientists in other countries.

When the Nazis decided to use science as the keystone of their aggressive effort, they blacked out the right of German scientists to share their achievements with foreign specialists. This action was generally condemned, but the Allied victory has not changed the world picture for the better, and today all scientists who look beyond the confines of their own laboratories are greatly concerned about the future. They realize that science will not move forward without the benefit of communication across national borders and that if held tightly within national walls it will never help build the peace.

The idea of UNESCO dates back to the London meettings of the Allied Council of Ministers of Education during the war. These ministers saw that the rehabilitation of devastated educational institutions would be an international job and made plans for a permanent organization. But the idea could be implemented only by the new United Nations Organization. The U. N. thus came into the picture before its own charter had been signed. The preparatory group of UNESCO was invited to meet in San Francisco just before the United Nations meeting, and here UNESCO took form. Groups concerned with the arts and information were included with the educators, but the scientists, who felt the greatest urgency, had still no place in the proposed organization.

Joseph Needham, the eminent British scientist, had been for some time urging the establishment of an international body of scientists, with the goal of exchanging scientific data. Needham was stationed in China, doing work of great importance for that country's war effort and its future scientific development, but he came to San Francisco and made an eloquent case for scientific participation. He was ably supported by Harlow Shapley, the Harvard physicist. These two, with Julian Huxley, Henri Laugier, and others, carried the ball across the goal line. Archibald MacLeish, who was the leader of

A. G. MEZERIK is the author of "The Revolt of the South and West."

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the United States delegation at the UNESCO meeting in San Francisco, took on the job of getting the name and the idea approved by Congress.

UNESCO next moved to London. Last June it entered into a draft agreement with the United Nations which outlined its scope. Its first assembly is now being held in Paris.

UNESCO can include countries which are not members of the United Nations. The United States became formally a member on July 30, when President Truman signed a Congressional resolution authorizing its permanent participation. This step must be taken by at least twenty of the forty-one countries which signed originally, if UNESCO is to become permanent. Signatures have been dribbling in, slowed by diplomatic snafu, political exigencies, and translation difficulties.

The big job which UNESCO proposes to do falls into three divisions. In the field of the creative arts, the aim is to enable people in every part of the world to jump national barricades with their cultural contributions, for these are the tools for the understanding of national character. In science and learning, UNESCO will seek standardization of scientific symbols and techniques and precise translations from one language to another. The third part of UNESCO's task is to inaugurate practical measures to spread science and learning. One such job might be the preparation of scientific textbooks, usable everywhere and not only by persons who intend to become scientists but by those who want to know their way about in a world where science is supreme. Similarly world history books, free from nationalism, have been suggested by educators. But such demonstrations would be few, for UNESCO is designed to be mainly a coordinating, facilitating, and planning body.

UNESCO already plans to call conferences on scientific problems in which one nation can get the benefit of scientific help from the others. Mexico has recently asked for a conference on the conservation of non-renewable natural resources. Consider also what UNESCO could do in promoting an international approach to zonal problems, as proposed by Dr. Huxley. The Arctic zone goes around the world, and how to fight extreme cold is the common problem of all the people who live in it, no matter what their nationality. Dr. Huxley maintains that there should be a common attack on the problem throughout the entire zone. The diseases of the tropical zone pose another such challenge. In some arid zones the need for water crosses national borders.

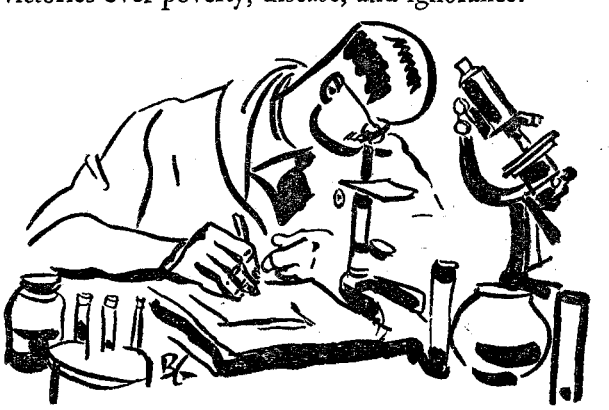
With UNESCO pointing the way, the international TVA's about which so much has been written could really come into being. Huxley, Needham, and their colleagues are also equipped to study eugenics, psychology in relation to politics, the use of natural resources, and the cure of cancer or tuberculosis. An international organization, allocating a sizable sum properly and planning a worldwide attack on disease, could save the world much pain, money, and wasted effort.

Henri Laugier, Assistant Secretary General of the U. N., in describing UNESCO's many possibilities, has spoken of astronomy. Astrophysics and astronomy are essential to the whole world, but most of the observatories are in the Northern Hemisphere because the wealthy countries are there. Laugier pointed out that rich countries have big telescopes, medium-sized countries have medium-sized telescopes, and small countries use spyglasses. He went on to ask, "If Tahiti proves to be a location where a very large observatory is necessary, shall the world community be denied the use of this facility because Tahiti's budget is small?"

If all this is as logical as it sounds, who would try to stop UNESCO? I have mentioned the monopolies in this country, which for all their kindly words may gun for the organization. And I have spoken of the militarists and the power politicians everywhere. With disease germs and atomic bombs of tremendous military importance, there is very real danger that the big nations will block any international scientific cooperation. With the Republican Party in power in the United States, these worries are doubled, for the Republicans have traditionally embraced both monopolies and isolationism.

Any increase of isolationism here will have an effect on Russia and the countries in its sphere. None of them have as yet joined UNESCO, and it is obvious that Russia's entry is dependent on the general policy of the United States and Britain. UNESCO is one international organization which Russia should cherish, for it is spending a higher percentage of its national income on science than any other nation. Russia also publicly recognizes that the application of science to industry is cardinal to the success of its Five-Year Plan. UNESCO can be the mother of this kind of knowledge, and I am hoping—but not betting—that the Soviets will come in.

It is UNESCO month here—our State Department has so designated November officially—and it is UNESCO month in England, France, and other countries. May there be a UNESCO month ten years from now, with a world population dancing in the streets in celebration of victories over poverty, disease, and ignorance!



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The People's Front

THE results of the recent elections in France and Italy are further confirmation of the point I have been making in *The Nation* since the liberation, that whatever zigzags it may make on the way, Europe is going left.

Other European elections in the past six months have led conservative American observers to report, a little precipitately, a reversal in the trend, a return to "normalcy." An elaborate article in the July *Fortune*—which must itself have cost a fortune in time and money—put the final touches on this diagnosis; it marshaled figures and arguments to show that Europe is fed up with its one year of socialist experimenting and is turning its eyes toward the admirable economic order which prevails in America under the benevolent guidance of "free enterprise."

Now *Fortune's* expensive little popgun has backfired. The French people voted left. The Italian people voted left. In France the Communist Party was the only party of the government coalition that increased its popular vote—5,475,955 votes this time as against 5,203,046 last June, raising the number of its seats in the Assembly from 148 to 166. The latest Italian elections on November 17, coming on the heels of the Socialist-Communist gains of the previous Sunday, resulted in a sweeping victory for the Communists; at Leghorn they received 59 per cent of the total vote, thus securing control of a key municipality.

Both in France and in Italy reaction mustered all its forces in an attempt to rout the working-class parties. The French right had an electoral fund worth more than any number of undevaluated francs in the form of support from General de Gaulle, whose prestige is topped in French history only by that of Henry of Navarre and General Bonaparte. The Catholic church worked hard to return Georges Bidault's Popular Republicans as first party of France. The M. R. P. succeeded in keeping its 160 seats in the Assembly, but its popular vote dropped from 5,589,130, in the June 2 elections, to 5,033,430. Without the help of the hierarchy it would surely have come off worse. A conservative French paper, *l'Ordre,* commented, "The church saved the M. R. P." This time there was not even a pretense of neutrality on the part of the clergy. *La Croix,* organ of the Vatican in France, whose masthead carries a crucifix and the motto *"Adveniat regnum tuum,"* abandoned its ecclesiastical tone to warn Frenchmen that if they voted left they would, on the one hand, forfeit their chance of heaven and, on the other, American credits. In Italy Pope Pius all but stepped from the altar to the rostrum to direct personally the campaign for the right-wing parties. Yet in neither country were these warnings enough to sway the people.

It is true that the French Socialist Party emerged a heavy loser. This was no surprise to those who had followed closely the debates at the last two Socialist congresses. In the long run it was impossible to maintain an equilibrium between the left and the right wings of the party without losing on both sides. Those Frenchmen who have formerly voted Socialist but are now apprehensive of the steady growth of the Communist Party seem to feel more protected under Herriot's *Rassemblement des Gauches,* which is openly anti-Communist but at the same time a staunch defender of secular education. On the other hand, many militant rank-and-file Socialists who accept the necessity of a single working-class front find the Communist Party, which has called unceasingly for unity of action, more to their taste. But even the decline of the Socialists, which is fundamentally the result of their elderly, anemic approach to public questions, does not alter the fact that, viewed as a whole, the French vote of November 10 was a decisive blow to reaction.

In Italy the interesting thing this time was to see the effect of the unity pact between the Socialists and Communists. One of the principal arguments of Saragat and Treves, leaders of the right-wing Socialists, was that close collaboration with the Communists would ruin their party's electoral chances. Actually where the parties ran combined slates on November 10, they improved their position and led in five of the main cities—Rome, Turin, Genoa, Florence, and Naples. The Christian Democrats, whose victory last June was taken as a sign of a right turn in Europe, dropped from first place to third in Rome, from second to fifth in Naples. Apparently in Italy the clerical reactionaries are not satisfied, as they are in France, to support a center party like the M. R. P. Impatient with De Gasperi, from whom they expected a firmer stand against the left, they have now gone all out for the neo-fascists of the Common Man Front. But in spite of the considerable gains of that party, Italy came out of the test with the left parties strongly intrenched.

Now France faces the difficult problem of readjusting its coalition government to conform with the election results. The Communists would have a right to claim the premiership, but they are not likely to insist on it at the risk of seeing a government formed without them. They will probably demand important portfolios and may insist that if the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not given to them, it go to a man—say, Pierre Cot—whose views on foreign policy meet with their approval. The Communists and Socialists together do not hold a majority in the Assembly, and therefore a joint Cabinet, as proposed by the Communist Party on the day after the elections, will hardly materialize. The only possible alternative to the present tripartite coalition would be, I think, a return to a kind of limited popular-front government including the three major parties and the Radicals. Such a solution might bring Herriot out of the opposition as President of the Fourth Republic.

The problem is not so immediate in Italy, since the recent balloting there was for municipal posts only. But it is clear that the victory of the Socialists and Communists will have repercussions on the composition of the Italian government before many months.

DEL VAYO

[*In an early article Mr. Del Vayo will discuss the causes of Socialist decline in Europe.*]

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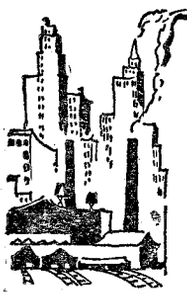

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Prices and Tariffs

TARIFFS are devices to make imported goods more expensive and so temper the winds of competition to domestic producers. Although each particular import duty assists a comparatively small number of producers and is paid by a large number of consumers, generations of propaganda have put over the idea that tariffs benefit the whole nation. The onus of tariffs, it is widely held, is borne by those foreigners who find their cunning schemes to make cheap goods available to Americans thwarted. It follows that any reduction in tariff rates is a favor to such foreigners and should therefore never be made except as a *quid pro quo*. On this basis, in fact, the State Department will shortly negotiate for a mutual reduction of trade barriers with eighteen other countries, negotiations in which concessions by one party will be weighed against concessions by others.

I am not criticizing this procedure. It is, perhaps, the most hopeful method of beginning the gargantuan task of lowering trade barriers throughout the world. But in these days of shortages and soaring prices it does seem rather strange to me that there is not more agitation for whittling down import duties, not for the sake of foreign nations but for the sake of the hard-pressed American consumer.

Let us look, for example, at the case of the three major non-ferrous metals—copper, lead, and zinc—which are raw materials for a host of industries. All these metals are in short supply in relation to current demand, and, not surprisingly, domestic prices jumped to the world level when ceilings were abolished on November 7. However, for the moment this imposed a new ceiling, since the Metals Reserve Company, a government corporation which was exempt from paying duty, continued to buy foreign metal for resale at local prices. Now the company has announced the cessation of its operations, which means that future imports will have to bear the prescribed duties. Theoretically, this could mean a two-price system with consumers paying more for foreign than for domestic metals, but in that event bidding for the cheaper material would soon force quotations up until they equaled foreign prices plus duty.

A two-price system in a free market is not, in fact, practical, and it seems certain that within a very short time American producers of metals will be obtaining the benefit of the added duty. Two large mining companies have already moved halfway to this goal by raising their quotations for copper from 17½ cents a pound to 19½ cents, and a further jump to 21½ cents appears imminent since the excise duty on foreign copper is 4 cents. In the case of lead the American Smelting and Refining Corporation, which has mineral interests both here and abroad, has already lifted its quotation for New York delivery to 11.8 cents a pound, which compares with the OPA ceiling of 8¼ cents. The new figure represents a price of 10.25 cents for foreign metal at Gulf ports, plus duty of $1^1/_{16}$ cents and transportation costs.

Since most of the big metal producers are already making satisfactory profits, the higher prices they can now obtain, thanks to protective duties, are so much velvet. But what advantage will be gained by the community at large to compensate it for added costs on automobiles, electrical and household appliances, housing materials, and other goods which require appreciable quantities of non-ferrous metals? Domestic production of copper, lead, and zinc will of course be stimulated. High-cost mines, which can operate only when prices are above normal, will be reopened. But no matter how high prices may go, domestic supplies will not be sufficient to satisfy domestic needs, and large imports will still be necessary. In the first ten months of 1946 American consumption of copper amounted to 990,000 tons, of which over half was of foreign origin. Lead consumption for the whole year is estimated at 870,000 tons, even though under allocation many users are not receiving nearly all they need, while domestic production is not expected to exceed 350,000 tons.

The United States was exceptionally well endowed by nature with metallic ores, but in the course of 150 years of economic development these resources have been drawn upon very heavily. They are no longer extensive enough to provide for the needs of industry when it is operating at anything like capacity, and to an increasing extent we must depend on imports. Why, then, should we penalize ourselves and hasten the depletion of our metallic reserves by making foreign metals artificially expensive. This is a matter of great concern to the consuming industries and is disturbing even some of the large producers. The big copper interests, for instance, are not happy about a rise in price to 21½ cents; they fear that consumers may turn to substitutes—aluminum, magnesium, plastics, stainless steels; that they may be "priced out of the market."

A temporary remedy for the situation is available. Under the Tariff Act of 1930 the President has the power in an emergency to suspend the collection of import duties on a particular commodity. He might well use this power in the case of lead and zinc. Whether he has the legal authority to abrogate temporarily the excise duty on copper is uncertain, but that move would be equally desirable. Indeed, there are a number of raw materials supplies of which could be improved or cheapened or both by the suspension of import duties which hamper their entry. In spite of a desperate shortage of vegetable oils, reflected in the high price and scarcity of soap, imports of such commodities as cottonseed oil, cocoanut oil, linseed oil, and peanut oil are impeded by the tariff. Another example is soda ash, for lack of which glass factories are closing down; the duty on this material is equivalent to 25 per cent of the current price.

Of course, it may be argued that the suspension of any duties at this moment would weaken the hands of American negotiators in the forthcoming tariff talks. But that argument is based on the premise that we are always the gainers by our tariffs and the other fellow the loser. In our present situation at least, when we are concerned not with glut but with scarcity, to penalize foreign sellers of wanted goods is surely an example of economic masochism.

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IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THE big surprise in radio—to both the broadcaster and the listener—is in television. Television sets are being sold, for immediate delivery, in New York City priced at $300, plus $50 for installation and a year's guaranty. And they are being sold so fast that the supply is about exhausted and stores are now taking orders. Sets are also obtainable in Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, and Los Angeles, although it is probable that West Coast retailers have no more than token stocks since the big present and expected market is in New York City.

The television production center is still New York, where the television listener has three stations to choose from—NBC, CBS, and Du Mont. Two of the three stations offer programs, on an average, six or even seven days a week. Depending on the schedules, the listener can enjoy from twenty to forty hours of programming each week over NBC in New York; somewhat less over CBS and Du Mont.

What makes television a surprise is the speed with which it has caught the public fancy. Many a broadcaster, realizing the cost of television operation, had hoped Frequency Modulation would be the next development. A television station costs four times as much to construct and operate as an FM or AM station. In round figures an FM station can be built for about $50,000 as against the $200,000 needed for an investment in television. Since either FM or television will tend to kill the broadcasters' existing audience, they know they may have to switch to one or the other, and those with limited resources would naturally prefer it to be FM.

Most broadcasters foresaw a gradual shift to FM, a profitable decade with it, and then another gradual shift to television. Instead, FM is still struggling, and television, at least in New York, the largest single market, is here to stay.

Behind this mushrooming of television are a number of interesting factors, all of which have the broadcasters worried. The strongest shot-in-the-arm for television has been sports broadcasts. The baseball, football, and prize-fight telecasts have steadily built up listener demand. It wasn't so good when telecasts had to stick to their home towns, but this season NBC has been picking up games hundreds of miles from New York. The secret is in the micro-wave facilities developed by A. T. and T. Before these were perfected, television could carry programs beyond the horizon only by using another A. T. and T. device, the coaxial cable, which was and is fantastically expensive.

Coaxial cables run from New York to Philadelphia and Washington. A coast-to-coast coaxial cable was announced to be in the works some time ago, but no one anticipated prompt action, especially since such a cable reputedly costs $10,000 a mile to instal. Today we are told that a coaxial cable extends as far west as El Paso, Texas, and is due in Hollywood by spring. This is another cause of television's phenomenal spurt.

Radio men realize that only concerns with heavy financial reserves will go into TV. These are the networks, the radio-equipment manufacturers, and the movie makers. The few non-network stations that can afford to enter the field are those that are affiliated, by financial interest or philosophy, with those already in it.

Radio Corporation of America is in the field with NBC, its subsidiary. General Electric is in with its station in Schenectady, CBS with its station in New York, Paramount with its financial interest in the Du Mont firm in New York, Philco with its own station in Philadelphia. Paramount is on the scene in Chicago through its relationship with the Balaban and Katz movie chain, which owns and operates the most active single television outlet in that city.

ABC, the radio network, is also in the picture via working agreements with Du Mont, General Electric, and Balaban and Katz. Only Mutual, of the networks, has no TV station, but it is affiliated with the Chicago *Tribune's* WGN station, which for years has had a studio built especially for television. Others in the field are WLW, in Cincinnati, now owned by the AVCO Corporation, part of the Victor Emanuel empire, and WBAL, the Hearst station in Baltimore.

These are the people that can afford to build the stations, put money into the programs, use the coaxial cable—as radio stations now use telephone lines—and with the micro-wave facilities of the A. T. and T. pick up such stellar attractions as an army football game at West Point.

One need not assume from its operators that television will be bad, meaning a minor force for the best in cultural, social, and educational programs. But already its broadcasts are swamped with commercials—run at a loss, it is true, since the advertisers are experimenting, trying to find the most effective and palatable commercial plugs while the audience is still attracted by the novelty and limited in size. Even this does not mean that television must be bad. But look at the past as a guide to the future. The big guns in television are the same big guns that in radio have been most guilty of advertising excesses. TV is a new art, as well as a new technical problem. And the FCC has no handbook for television public service.

Now is the time to watch television and make your likes and dislikes known to the telecasters. And to the FCC, too.

WORTH HEARING

HOWARD K. SMITH (CBS, Sundays). Replaced Ed Murrow as CBS man in London and is almost as good. A keen, penetrating analyst in the liberal manner.

VICTOR BORGE AND BENNY GOODMAN (NBC, Mondays). A fine humorist and the dean of modern music in the popular taste. Commercials in good taste.

METROPOLITAN OPERA (ABC, Saturdays). Just to remind you. Worth the time of every listener.

SUPERMAN (MBS, daily). Social significance has been added to this killer-diller thriller. Lend me your ears and reactions.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Real China

THUNDER OUT OF CHINA. By Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. William Sloan Associates. $3.

AS THE group of suave Chinese pretending to represent "China" took their seats in the General Assembly of the United Nations, a book of epochal importance about the medieval-Fascist dictatorship which they represent was placed before the American public.

This book, "Thunder out of China," by Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby, for years the China correspondents of *Life* and *Time* magazines, is the most incisive and enlightening study of present-day China to appear in many years. While other excellent books have been more restricted in theme, this one is distinguished by its much broader canvas, which embraces not only China but all Asia.

The book is superb reporting; some of its chapters have real literary excellence. Its vigorous pages are full of dramatic details of heroism, tragedy, compassion, humor, and scalding satire. All the elements of Chinese life are in turn unified and analyzed in the light of those social forces without a knowledge of which China appears as it did to most American officers and G. I.'s—a land of squalor, filth, and ignorance.

Understanding these social forces, the authors are preoccupied with the feudal oppression of the Chinese peasants who constitute more than 80 per cent of the Chinese population. In this book the reader, hitherto confused by American press dispatches from China, can watch the savage exploitation of the peasant by the Kuomintang dictatorship and the medieval forces on which it is based: landlords, usurers, gendarmes, tax collectors, merchants, and generals. During the Honan famine of 1943, which killed three million people, the reader sees Kuomintang generals strip the peasants of all their grain, horde it until the prices soar, then feed it into the black market. An American relief official had to buy this grain from generals at prices ten times as high as those in the United States, then give it back to starving peasants from whom it had been looted. But the Chinese government suppressed a newspaper in Chungking for four days for publishing the statement that there was a famine in Honan.

The two chapters on the Chinese Communists, who are today fighting for their lives against these Kuomintang generals and their dictatorship, tell an entirely different story. The entire Communist political thesis, say these authors, can be reduced to a single paragraph:

> If you take a peasant who has been swindled, beaten, and kicked about for all his waking days and whose father has transmitted to him an emotion of bitterness, treat him like a man, ask his opinion, let him vote for a local government, let him organize his own police and gendarmes, decide on his own taxes, and vote himself a reduction in rent and interest—if you do all that, the peasant becomes a man who has something to fight for, and he will fight to preserve it against any enemy, Japanese or Chinese. If, in addition, you present the peasant with an army and government that helps him harvest, teaches him to read and write, and fights off the Japanese who raped his wife and tortured his mother, he develops a loyalty to the army and the government and to the party that controls them.

The criticism of some of the Communist practices pales beside the pen pictures of the key men in the Kuomintang dictatorship. Here you see Chiang Kai-shek not as American reactionaries picture him but as he is, a medieval war lord who is convinced that he alone is China, and who hates and wages a war of extermination on anyone, from Communist to mild liberal, who believes that the Chinese people are China. The Chinese government, the Kuomintang armies, and the Kuomintang Party are Chiang's instruments; the national treasury is his private pocket-book.

There are terrifying sketches of such arch-reactionaries as General Ho Ying-chin and such anti-foreign, Hitlerian reactionaries as Chen Li-fu, who "sleeps untroubled by the screams of victims in Kuomintang concentration camps" where practices like those of Dachau, Belsen, and Buchenwald still prevail. The reader will revel in the savage and satirical picture of Dr. H. H. Kung, who, with his entire racketeering family, is hated by the Chinese people as a grotesque caricature of all the war was about. The Chinese, "with the most biting sense of humor in the world," delighted in the spectacle of the henpecked Dr. Kung, "gutlessly presiding over a Cabinet that reeked of corruption and indecision, surrounded by a kitchen council of cringing sycophants, [who] symbolized all the ridiculous decay they saw in their nation." Just as grotesque is the picture of the boasting buffoon, the American ambassador, Patrick Hurley, who went through devastated China giving a Choctaw war-whoop.

After V-J Day, write these authors, the American army, navy, and air force moved with swift precision to the defense of Chiang Kai-shek's regime. American marines stood side by side with Chinese traitors, Japanese troops, and Kuomintang armies against the Chinese Communist-commanded armies which had fought the Japanese throughout the war, and which the Kuomintang dictator and the American armed forces are now trying to exterminate. All Asia, they say, is now convinced that "America is the last great bastion of reaction, a nation that speaks of freedom while aligning itself with the old order which over a billion people of Asia are determined to destroy."

It is imperative for every American to read this book; its authors deserve the eternal gratitude of the American people, who believed that we fought the last war for the destruction of fascism, not for its preservation.

AGNES SMEDLEY

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Roosevelt

THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW. By Frances Perkins. The Viking Press. $3.75.

WHILE very much that might have been contained in it is absent, Madame Perkins's memoir of her thirty-five-year association with Roosevelt is quite worth studying. But it must be studied; it is a bad book simply to read. The memoir is full of details of a portrait of Roosevelt and the New Deal, and therefore very interesting. But the tone is official, in a homey sort of way; the ideas in their moral-abstract quality are even more suited to the beginning than to the end of the thirty-five-year period; the total view of the late President is righteous and theoretically shallow. As for the style of the author—Miss Perkins seems to be a practical, energetic administrator whose larger view of life could be summarized in the admonition: be patient with misguided persons and try to do the right thing. (One gets from this book—and not only this one—the strong impression that the New Deal was, realistically, a very successful political adventure and, spiritually, a kind of Unitarian upsurge. Apart from the factor of practical politics, the religious element can hardly be overemphasized.)

Frances Perkins met Roosevelt in 1910, when she was a social worker just out of school and he a righteous young upper-class gentleman beginning a political career in a small way. Roosevelt's first political struggle was against "corruption." The direction of his political development was from moral arrogance toward social charm and tolerance. This movement was greatly facilitated by his attack of paralysis in 1921. ("Franklin Roosevelt underwent a spiritual transformation during the years of his illness.") Roosevelt gained a tremendous amount of psychic vitality because of his paralysis, and this expressed itself chiefly in the deep emotional effect he had on people, his charm, and his almost biological need for conversation—for mental exchange with others. He turned his "dependency component" into a hugely successful political principle. Although he was never very powerful intellectually, his need to partake of others' minds became primary and organic. His psychology was a paradox: he was a genius at stimulating others by allowing and inducing them to stimulate him. His need and love of being stimulated vividly and variously from the outside led him to foster great freedom of activity in his associates. In this process he not only drew the best from them but also afforded them a sense of their own creative importance, thus consolidating their loyalty to him. And he remained the reference point of their creativity: he was the queen bee. Talking about handling politically minded people, he once said to Miss Perkins: "Always ask their advice, whether you take it or not."

Roosevelt's excessive penchant for being enlivened by things outside himself is certainly an indication that he was repressing interior stimuli. The truly intellectual person is one whose inner life is by far the more active. To him, the theoretical framework of action and belief is obviously of extreme importance—almost, at times, a matter of life and death. But to a man of Roosevelt's type, the inner life is dedicated almost entirely to *unifying outside forces,* usually represented by individuals. He has no real theory; he has only facts, and then information concerning what others believe. Miss Perkins has this to say about the preliminary work of the New Deal: "At the President's request we steered clear of people who were too theoretical. . . ." And when John Maynard Keynes visited Roosevelt in 1934 he remarked to the author that he had "supposed the President was more literate, economically speaking." In the absence of a comprehensive theoretical context, the frame of Roosevelt's decisions was a very simple religious humanitarianism balanced by opportunistic political considerations.

When Roosevelt took office in the depths of the depression, he uttered his greatest words—"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." This is perhaps the greatest half-truth ever spoken. Nothing could have been farther from the essence of the period, nothing closer to the essence of the man.

DAVID T. BAZELON

Good Out of Nazareth

THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN. By Ellis Gibbs Arnall. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

NO HONEST man should think it an easy assignment to review the writing of another man he likes and admires as much as I like and admire Ellis Arnall of Georgia: inevitably what critical faculty he possesses finds itself at painful strife with his affections. So let me say right off that the Governor's book is not perfectly organized and at spots is consciously "literary," and that with a microscope you can turn up an occasional—but inconsequential—misquotation. And then I can proceed to clap hands heartily.

I know what Ellis Arnall has done for Georgia; how far forward he led his state in his one four-year term, and how eagerly it came with him. His account of his progress is not boastful, but given with gratitude *and* with pride. Georgia may slip back a foot or two under another Talmadge regime snaked into power against the will—and the votes—of the majority by the undemocratic county-unit system, but most of the social and political yardage gained under the Arnall administration will not be lost, but will be the platform from which the state will resume, before long, its march into the twentieth century.

Arnall's book is discursive, wandering far afield from the author's own home town of Newnan into a world that exists, as the author clearly understands it must, in the Newnan-centered perspective of a Georgia boy who grew up to be a scholar and philosopher, as well as governor of his state and a national figure of continuing promise; but the discourse is entirely delightful, the thought-content solid and evocative, and the keenness of the author's perception accompanies his interests in their wide range.

Governor Arnall is a sincere conservationist, a sincere believer in democracy: "The collective wisdom of the people, if they are informed, is greater than that of any one man." He is, of course, a born Democrat, but also by conviction, since Jefferson, Mason, Jackson, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt were of that party: he believes Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt belonged in it, too. He is at some pains to present himself as a middle-of-the-reader, decrying the impracticalities of the extreme left and the extreme right. Boston, for

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ARCHBISHOP STEPINAC GREETS THE ASSASSIN ANTE PAVELITCH

Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb, Roman Catholic Primate of Yugoslavia, is here shown shaking hands with Pavelitch, head of the murderous Ustachi, on New Year's Day, 1943. He is conveying to Pavelitch the cordial good wishes for the New Year on behalf of Pope Pius XII, as recorded in the N. Y. "Herald Tribune" of February 21, 1943.

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some reason, epitomizes the point of view the Governor most abhors, and is the butt of many of the neatly turned phrases with which he tempers the sting of conclusions otherwise unrelievedly caustic.

Governor Arnall intends to build upon the good name he already has; in the coming year he will lecture in all the states. His book will introduce him to audiences he has not yet met, and those audiences, I am sure, will be predisposed to welcome him and hear him out. JENNINGS PERRY

The Planned Economy

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING. By Barbara Wootton. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.

THIS is an excellent little book—honest, courageous, logical, thorough, and admirably written. Mrs. Wootton neither underestimates her opponents' case nor tries to make glibness and rhetoric do duty for argument. She faces squarely the very important problem: can we plan and keep the essential freedoms? Her answer is yes, if we go the right way about it.

She starts from the proposition that the state exists "to make it possible for men and women to live their own lives in their own way." Power to plan production certainly gives the planner power over our private lives. "But power can be exercised in different ways and in different degrees. All extensions of power involve certain risks: some offer advantages also. If the advantages did not sometimes outweigh the risks, complete anarchy would be preferable to any government. . . . The critical issue is . . . knowing where to stop." That is the answer to Hayek, and the rest of the book is simply a carefully reasoned development of this theme.

In the course of that development Mrs. Wootton makes three very important points: (1) Planning does not necessarily involve socialism: the state can plan what is to be produced without necessarily doing the producing itself. (2) Neither war experience nor Russian experience is decisive on whether planning is compatible with freedom. "The first characteristic of war is hurry"; the second is "violent changes in the pattern of production"; the third is that "what people want to do ceases to count." None of this need apply in peace time. Russian experience also has but limited validity, not only because the Soviet system arose out of "the violence of revolution and civil war" and the history of the czarist empire, but because the Soviet government never even tried to establish a state dedicated to letting men and women lead their own lives in their own way. Russian experience proves "that it is possible to plan at least up to the Soviet level of efficiency in time of peace without recourse to universal industrial conscription"; but "the fact that there are no legal opposition parties in the U. S. S. R. proves nothing except that there are no legal opposition parties in the U. S. S. R." (3) It is not true that "public buying is a safe guide to public wanting. . . . What people buy and what they want are two different things."

Perhaps the most important chapters are those on freedom of collective bargaining and political freedom. For these are parts of the subject on which advocates of planning have said lamentably little. Both are crucial.

Mrs. Wootton is convinced that we cannot have planned production unless we have a "plan for wages"; without it we can't be sure that the right amount and kinds of labor will be available at the right time and place. But can we plan wages and keep free collective bargaining? Mrs. Wootton's answer is that unless the unions are prepared to work out an adequate, unified wage policy, or to practice traditional, sectional collective bargaining "with exceptional discretion" and "common sense," it will be necessary to substitute either statutory wage-fixing or arbitration, with the unions acting as "advocates" for the workers. Whatever method is adopted, wages will have to be settled on an entirely new basis, that of matching labor supply with the requirements of public plans. It would be interesting to have her comments on the discussion of wage policy under full employment in Mr. Worswick's chapter in "Economics of Full Employment" (Oxford Institute of Statistics), which provides a useful supplement to her own treatment.

The central problem of political freedom under planning is that "economic planning demands continuity, and political freedom appears to imply instability. . . . Nothing can alter the fact that we cannot both make effective long-term plans

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and continually exercise the right to change our minds about anything at any time." There is no space here even to summarize Mrs. Wootton's attempt to solve the problem. Opinions will differ about whether it is completely successful. But at least it faces the difficulties and constitutes one of the very few substantial contributions toward a solution. Any serious discussion of the subject in future will have to take account of it. The whole book, indeed, is indispensable to all who value freedom and refuse to believe that it must be bought by the poverty of the mass of the population.

EUGENE FORSEY

BRIEFER COMMENT

Old, Unhappy, Far-off Things . . .

THERE NEVER WAS a more delusive phrase than "strong silent men." The strong men of history have been not merely articulate: they have been voluble. It is the Coolidges that are dumb. "Winston Churchill's Secret Session Speeches" (compiled with introductory notes by Charles Eade, Simon and Schuster, $2) were deeds as well as words. The most impressive is the one of which we have no full record, but only Churchill's typewritten notes. It was England's darkest and finest hour. In the jottings there are no strokes of lightning, such as we expect in the public utterances. There is, however, one flash of impish Churchillian humor: "Steady continuous bombing must be regular condition of our life. . . . Learn to get used to it. . . . Eels get used to skinning."

The speech on Parliament and Air Raids, and the one on The Battle of the Atlantic are, in comparison, sheer routine reports. The Fall of Singapore makes us realize anew what we are now forgetting: that the Japanese blitz was even more spectacular than the German, and that the British collapse in the Far East was no less sudden and no less profound than that of France in the West. In seven weeks a third of Britain's battleships and battle cruisers had been lost or crippled. At Singapore a hundred thousand troops had surrendered to thirty thousand Japanese. Britain had lost one more gigantic battle; but it was not alone, and the war was finally won.

The speech on Darlan is wilfully ambiguous. The operations in Northwest Africa were under American direction, and "since 1776 we have not been in the position of being able to decide the policy of the United States." "They [the Americans] do not think much of him [Darlan], but they do not hate and despise him as we do over here." Churchill makes it quite plain that Darlan and Giraud claimed to be acting in the name and by the authority of the Marshal. "In fact, if Admiral Darlan had to shoot Marshal Pétain, he would no doubt do it in Marshal Pétain's name." Churchill promised also that we fully intended to doublecross Darlan. Perhaps Darlan would not have been so easy to doublecross. Had he lived we might have had to do in France what the British have done in Greece. Providence intervened, and Darlan was removed.

The utter confusion of this speech shows how vain are all the alleged "verdicts of history." We won. I still believe

Who are the "thieves in the night" in Palestine?

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SETTLERS LIKE JOSEPH?

"I shall join Bauman's terror gang. One can reach a point of humiliation where violence is the only outlet. If I can't bite, my wrath will bite into my own bowels. That's why the whole race is ulcerated in the bloodiest literal sense. Fifteen hundred years of impotent anger has gnawed our intestines . . ."

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that honesty—a temporary hindrance in North Africa—would have hastened victory in Europe, and made the peace less equivocal and precarious. We are still paying for the Darlan deal. But it cannot be proved. What was, was. You will never compel me to admit that whatever was, was inevitable and therefore right. ALBERT GUERARD

The Economics of Exploration

IT MAY SEEM like pedantic sadism to insist that the history of exploration should be regarded as part of economic history. Exploration is a romantic, exciting subject; economics has a long-standing reputation as *the* "dismal science." Nevertheless, from the time that the Minoans pushed their galleys into distant corners of the Mediterranean until the latest journeys of Admiral Byrd, the forces that have operated to induce men to sail unknown seas and break new trails through unmapped lands have usually been economic. This does not mean that most explorers have been spurred on by hopes of personal gain; the psychology of a Columbus, a Stanley, a Nansen is more complicated than that. But such men have been the instruments, conscious or unconscious, of drives which are essentially economic.

This idea is the thread which connects the stories of three classic journeys told by Jeannette Mirsky in "The Westward Crossings—Balboa, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark" (Alfred A. Knopf, $4). Vasco Nunez de Balboa sought "gold for the crown"—gold with which Charles V was to buy his election as emperor and to finance an effort to establish Spanish hegemony in Europe. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first man to cross North America from Atlantic to Pacific, sought "furs for the company"—the Northwest Company of Montreal, upstart rival of the mighty Hudson Bay Company. Lewis and Clark, commissioned by Congress to explore the Missouri Basin and break a trail to the Pacific Northwest, sought "commerce for the nation." In this last instance, it seems to me, the desire for symmetry has led to over-simplification. Indeed, Miss Mirsky herself makes it clear that Jefferson, who fostered the Lewis and Clark expedition, was inspired not only by thoughts of trade but still more by his desire to prevent his struggling democracy from being hemmed in by new European colonies, and to secure space as a safeguard against the development of feudalism and capitalism.

In her account of Balboa Miss Mirsky leans heavily, as all historians must, on the writings of Peter Martyr, and his eloquence gives a glow to the tragic story which is lacking in the other narratives. And perhaps distance lends enchantment too; so that Miss Mirsky tends to glide over the sins of Balboa and to exaggerate his virtues. By comparison the stories of the North American explorers may seem a little pedestrian. Here the historian cannot use an instructed imagination to supplement the original documents. Mackenzie, Lewis, and Clark all wrote full accounts of their travels, and no conscientious writer can embroider the plain material provided. What Miss Mirsky has done admirably is to give us summaries of Mackenzie's "Voyages from Montreal" and the Lewis and Clark "Journals," works which in the original make somewhat gritty reading. I found the account of Mackenzie's voyage up the Peace River and penetration of the Rockies the most fascinating part of the whole book. Mackenzie himself emerges as a remarkable man whose quiet will kept his expedition intact, despite incredible hardships, until its goal was reached, and whose firm diplomacy time and again secured essential cooperation from scared and sometimes hostile Indians. Miss Mirsky has done well to dust off his neglected saga and give it equal prominence with those of better advertised but no more daring travelers.

KEITH HUTCHISON

A Lot of Lowells

ALL THIS NEW ENGLAND PRIDE of ancestry seems, sometimes, a little parvenu—as if three hundred years were such a long time, as if no families in Europe went back a thousand, as if there were no such thing as the human race, with a somewhat longer genealogy. One is reminded of Raina in "Arms and the Man." "Our family is one of the oldest in Bulgaria—it goes back almost forty years. And people in our position, people of really *good* standing, wash their hands nearly every day."

Well, here are the Lowells, whether you like them or not, from Old Percival (1571—1645) to Abbott Lawrence

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(1856—1943). Mr. Greenslet, in "The Lowells and their Seven Worlds" (Houghton Mifflin, $4), writes of them with affection tempered by judgment, or vice versa. But all his fondness cannot make them seem more than admirable; not warm, not lovable, not particularly interesting. They had successful careers, in law, in business, in science, education, literature, arms, diplomacy; they made a lot of money, founded endowments, were given to good works, including the Lowell Institute, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harvard College. They traveled widely, they established towns; never philistines, they may have, some of them, been a little pharisaical. They produced many men, and one woman, of letters; they never produced an artist. Exemplary citizens, pillars of the community, respectable, affable enough—one or two may even have been charming—worthy, devoted, good; and yet, by and large, dull, dull, dull.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Model B and the New World

THE SIXTH AND FINAL REPORT made by Stuart Chase for the Twentieth Century Fund in a series dealing with post-war questions which face the United States is "For This We Fought" ($1). In some hundred pages Mr. Chase attempts to explore the larger national and international issues and to reach some valid conclusions, particularly from the point of view of the veteran. It is an enormous task, and of course Mr. Chase fails.

What he has given us is a hotchpotch of subjective interviews, selected quotations from attitude surveys, and brief summaries of vital statistics. He then jumps, with little connection with the preceding pages, into a trite chapter on the atomic age which is a brief survey of the disheartening features of present-day international relations. Next Mr. Chase distinguishes four possible economic systems and personally plumps for Model B—the Middle Way. He says that there is nothing inherently wrong with the capitalist system but that the era of free enterprise—the "trickle-down system"—must give way to planned capitalism. The function of government is to compensate for the inadequacies of the economic system. In the final chapter—mystically entitled "$E=MC^2$"—we are first regaled with a two-page summary of archaeological and anthropological data from 7,000,000 B. C. until the destruction of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. On that date the third great era of man commenced. (The other two commenced with the discovery of fire and the development of agriculture.)

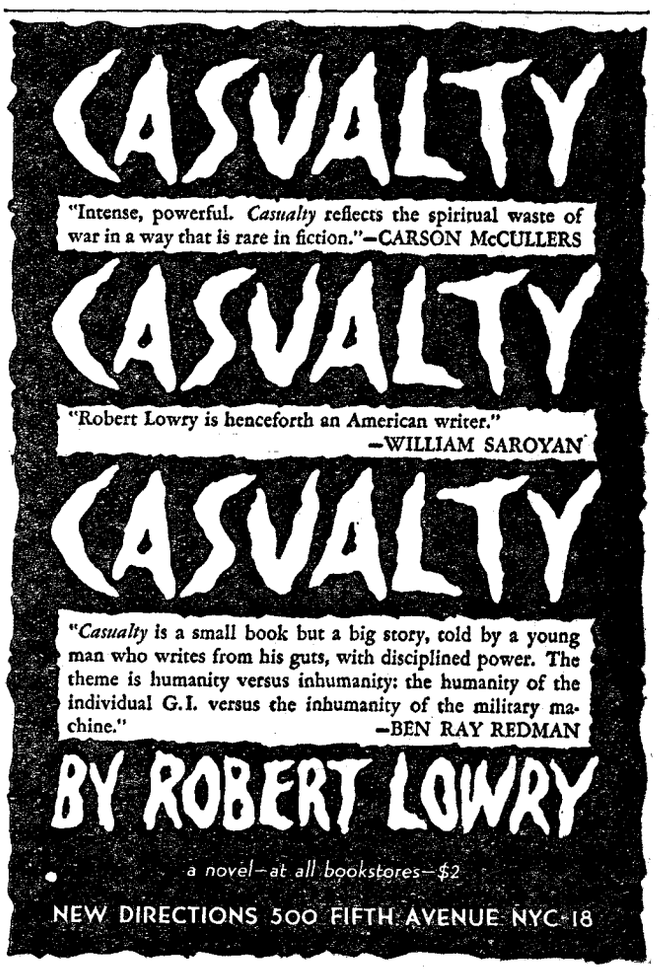
There are three ways, apparently, in which we can face our destiny. One is to send our Congressmen daily postcards inscribed: "$E=MC^2$—What are YOU doing about it?" The second is to send all the outstanding leaders of the world to watch the navy's experiments at Bikini. But the most important thing is to accept the Lilienthal report on Control of Atomic Energy. This third point Mr. Chase establishes in one and a quarter pages, of which one page is devoted to outlining the actual contents of the report, leaving exactly fourteen lines for his arguments in support of it.

The moral of all this is: the smaller the book, the less you can put into it; and this remark is no more trite than many made by Mr. Chase.

H. DAVID DAVIS

FICTION IN REVIEW

ISABEL BOLTON'S "Do I Wake or Sleep" (Scribner's, $2.50) is quite the best novel that has come my way in the four years I have been reviewing new fiction for this magazine. Small, entirely anonymous in the welter of current books, it might very well have escaped my notice had Edmund Wilson not called special attention to it in the *New Yorker:* the possibility of such an oversight will now become my reviewer's nightmare. Mr. Wilson's high praise prepared me, however, only for a work of exceptional talent. It did not prepare me—nothing but reading the book could—for the extraordinary process of revelation that Miss Bolton's novel turned out to be. Opening as a minor work of poetic sensibility, the kind of writing which Miss Bolton herself goes on to describe as achieved with the nerves rather than with the deeper centers, "Do I Wake or Sleep" gradually deepens to become a work of compelling insight; then the story progresses a bit farther, and the intelligence that one has hitherto noted simply as a restraining force upon poetic excess slowly proclaims its dominion over the novel's whole conception; finally one confronts the real novelistic shape and intellectual strength of the book, and recognizes the source of and response to a major fictional experience. I have no idea who Miss Bolton is: the jacket of the novel is provocatively uninformative. Whoever she is, she is the most important new novelist in the English language to appear in years. Whatever her literary apprenticeship, her book—it is a long novelette, really, rather than a novel—is the achievement of a fully matured artist.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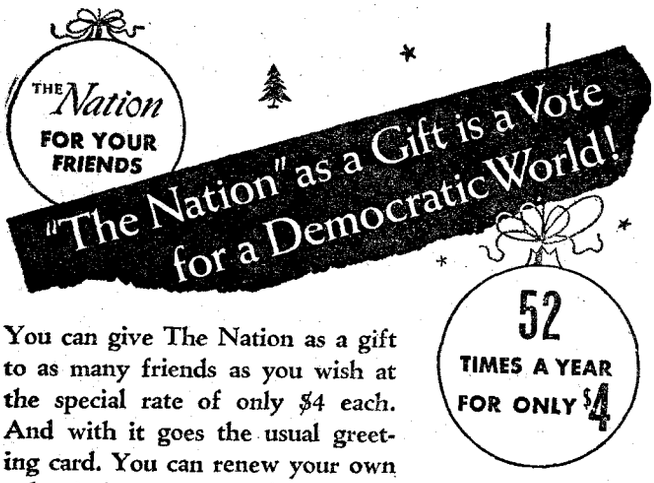

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And I say this despite the fact that "Do I Wake or Sleep" is not my favorite sort of fictional writing. It is a very closed book; to borrow a figure from music, its tone is covered—and I usually prefer a more open method. The method of Miss Bolton reminds me of that of Elizabeth Bowen at her best: there is the same privacy of approach to its materials in "Do I Wake or Sleep" as in Miss Bowen's "The Death of the Heart," just as there is the same scalpel-like precision of observation and expression, the same ability to make the most delicate differentiations between appearances and reality, the same fierce insight into human error held in check by a warm human sympathy. But one recalls that even at her best Miss Bowen has always suffered from a certain parochialism of the emotions; her intelligence, marked as it is, plays in her fiction only about the individual character and, so far, has never been able to relate the forces that move the individual with the forces that animate a whole society, whereas Miss Bolton is preeminently concerned—and most successfully—with this larger intellectual enterprise. Actually, Miss Bolton's closest affinity is with—I am afraid it must be said—Henry James. Not only in point of mutedness of tone, but also in point of subtlety and richness of perception and in the boldness with which it stands up to its final moral responsibility, "Do I Wake or Sleep" asserts its place full in the Jamesian tradition. Even its theme is a present-day statement of that theme dear to the heart of James—the relation of European and American culture.

There is a strong suggestion of James's Isabel Archer in Miss Bolton's Millicent, through whose eyes "Do I Wake or Sleep" is told. Millicent misses the charm and beauty of the James *jeune fille américaine,* but she shares with the heroine of "Portrait of a Lady" both the American energy of innocence and the American need to find importance in life by an act of dedication. When Miss Bolton's novel opens, Millicent, who earlier in life had rejected an English suitor on some impulse she has never understood, is about to make the saving gift of her love to Percy, an American novelist. She is not at all sure, however, that the gift is either advisable or welcome, for Percy too is looking for salvation through self-immolation, and he has just found a new object of his sacrifice in the person of Bridget, a beautiful European refugee. Even more guiltily than Millicent, Percy, being an American too, wants to spend himself for an ideal; his literary sensibility, indeed, is the other side of the coin of this nervous exacerbation. In the first chapters of "Do I Wake or Sleep" Millicent, Bridget, and Percy are dining together in the French Pavilion at the World's Fair. Over the table, against a background of the General Motors Building, the Futurama, and all the rest of the panoply of American success (the setting is a touch of genius), Bridget tells her friends the story of her life. She has only to reveal the fact that she has left a small daughter behind her in Europe for Percy to seize upon the rescue of this child as the culminating mission of his existence. Driven by her own sympathies and her desire to do anything she can to make Percy happy, Millicent tries to further this pursuit; in the next twenty-four hours, which are the whole period of Miss Bolton's story, she lunches with Bridget and Percy, she goes to the dressmaker with Bridget, she enables Percy to attend a cocktail party to which she and Bridget have been invited.

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But accidentally she also introduces Bridget to a young millionaire who at once becomes infatuated with her and in whose favor Bridget makes her choice of champion. Level-headed, shrewd, experienced as only the European can be experienced in playing her feelings instead of letting them play havoc with her, Bridget knows just the sort of help she needs and just how to secure it. The story closes with Percy prostrated in failure and with Millicent facing the tragic necessity of having to turn her life inward instead of—romantically—outward.

But no more than a synopsis of "Portrait of a Lady" can suggest the complex meanings of the James novel, can a synopsis of "Do I Wake or Sleep" suggest its complexity and skill. There have perhaps been other modern American novels—though at the moment I cannot name any—that have given one as vibrant a pictorial impression of New York as Miss Bolton's novel does. But surely Miss Bolton's book is unique, not only for the cultural meanings it evokes with every stroke of its description of the city, but also for the way it demonstrates the human outcome of our culture, and the relation, in both human and social terms, of American and European culture. In a symbolic story like Miss Bolton's the temptation to either overstatement or oversimplification is enormous: Miss Bolton's ability to avoid either of these extremes is the mark of a beautifully disciplined mind and heart. If one waits, for instance, for the character of Bridget to dissolve in satire or to merge into the accustomed character of the glamorous European adventuress, one waits in vain: rather than diminishing, one's sympathies for Bridget only increase as she begins more and more to reveal the cool springs of her conduct. Or if one looks for the young millionaire of the novel to become a caricature of stupid American openhandedness, one has the agreeable surprise of watching his author endow him with all the frank sweetness possible to his kind. Just as there is no hint of chauvinism or of any other easy value in Miss Bolton's comparison of the Old World and the New, so there is no touch of malice or of any other form of self-hatred in her approach to the American personality.

Then there are the myriad wonderful details with which Miss Bolton fills in the main outlines of her drama of American self-discovery. As striking as her descriptions of New York and her use of the World's Fair are Miss Bolton's descriptions of meals, of the protocol of restaurants, of a newsreel, her portrait of a cocktail party (the scene with the little doctor asserting his professional importance in the midst of so much alcoholic indulgence is a minor miracle), her asides on literary subjects—on Whitman, on Hart Crane, on why a modern cocktail party would be an unsuitable subject for a Restoration comedy. From time to time I have been accused of anti-intellectualism in my reviews because I have spoken so sharply against the modern "intellectual" novel. What I have been speaking against, of course, has been the use of the novel as a crude vehicle for argument or as an exhibition-piece of the author's education. Obviously the proper play of intellect in a novel is something quite different from this, something highly desirable and one of the rarest things in the contemporary fictional world—and I recommend "Do I Wake or Sleep" as a beautiful instance of its virtues and charms.

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on Henry James's "The American Scene"

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and RANDALL JARRELL

WILLIAM EMPSON's review
of Franz Kafka's "Metamorphosis"

RUTH BENEDICT's review
of John Hersey's "Hiroshima"

DELMORE SCHWARTZ's review
of Horace Gregory and Marya Zaturenska's
'A History of American Poetry, 1900-1940"

RALPH BATES's review
of Louis Fischer's "The Great Challenge"

KENNETH BURKE's review
of Ernst Cassirer's "The Myth of the State"

DWIGHT MACDONALD's review
of Hilaire Belloc's "The Servile State"

ABRAM KARDINER's review
of James Feibleman's "The Theory of Human Culture"

B. H. HAGGIN will review Balanchine's latest ballet, and our Letters section will include a long letter from ROBERT GRAVES about "King Jesus"

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

OF THE three plays now being offered by the American Repertory Theater "John Gabriel Borkman" will not, I suppose, prove the most popular. It is a tragedy gaunt as well as grim and almost totally devoid of the elements which contribute to "entertainment" in the ordinary sense of the word.

There is, for example, little that appeals to the eye and, except for the pathetic absurdity of the poet *manqué*, nothing remotely suggesting humor. The only two characters who have even the hope of anything to live for appear but briefly and soon flee from a stage given over to frustration and hate. The central character is unsympathetic; of the two women who come next in importance one is hateful, the other defeated and, spiritually, all but dead. Most of the action has taken place before the curtain rises, and it is only the disastrous aftermath which the audience is shown.

Yet for all that, "John Gabriel Borkman" is a better play than "Henry VIII" or "What Every Woman Knows" and for those willing to take it on its terms a more rewarding experience. Ibsen, even after he had passed the summit of his career, could still write plays more impressive than third-rate Shakespeare diluted with Fletcher, and his grim solidity promises long to outlast the famous whimsicality of Sir James. This particular play was written half a century ago by a man who was already old and who had never bothered to be in the slightest degree ingratiating; yet there are only a few moments when it seems old-fashioned rather than sternly timeless.

Indeed, Borkman himself is a curiously modern figure, and Ibsen is, in one way, so much ahead of his time that if the play were new it would undoubtedly be interpreted as an analysis of fascism. The hero-villain who lusts for power and justifies all the dishonesty of his means by the claim that his ultimate intention is to rule everything for the people's own good sounds very much as though he might have read some of the philosophical exponents of National Socialism; his whole attitude is less that of the nineteenth-century robber baron than that of the present-day tycoon. We meet him long after his downfall, but defeat has not changed him, and before he dies the whole of his character has been dissected before our eyes.

Ibsen is, to be sure, old-fashioned to the extent that he is a moralist rather than an exponent of economic determinism. John Gabriel is not the inevitable product of a dialectical process. He is, on the contrary, the classical hero of tragedy—a strong man doomed to destruction by a fatal defect which is, in this case, an inability to love. That defect is most dramatically revealed by his sacrifice to expediency of the woman he had chosen to be his wife; but this single act is no more than typical, and his damnation is the result, not so much of what he did, as of the character which made the action possible. Even today, however, not all playwrights are Marxists, and it is curious to note that S. N. Behrman's "The Talley Method" unknowingly rewrites "John Gabriel Borkman"—to the extent at least that both plays are about able men who are "proto-fascists" and who can justify their own ruthlessness because they are incapable of love.

"Borkman" is neither so rich nor so intricate in its working out as either "The Wild Duck" or "Hedda Gabler," but the famous retrospective method of its author was never more expertly handled, and the little scene in which the sentimental father comes limping in after the sleigh which was carrying his son out into the great world has run over his foot is typical of those curiously prosaic and yet curiously effective symbols which he loved to introduce. Moreover, the whole of the last scene, though old-fashioned in the staging which it demands, is dramatically right. John Gabriel, who has acknowledged defeat at last, is led by the woman who had always loved him to the rustic bench on a height to which as lovers they had been accustomed to come. But even in his last moments he cannot redeem himself, even with his sweetheart beside him, for he cannot really be aware of her presence; as he looks down he regrets only that the factories and ships spread out in panorama before him belong not to him but to others.

To my mind the best performances in the present production are those by Margaret Webster as the passionate, unforgiving Mrs. Borkman and by Ernest Truex as the pathetic little failure, Wilhelm Foldal. As John Gabriel, Victor Jory does not seem to get inside the role so effectively as he did when he played Henry, and Miss Le Gallienne's Ella Rentheim is, perhaps necessarily, somewhat monotonous for the simple reason that long-suffering heroines tend to become just that.

"Park Avenue," the Nunnally Johnson–George Kaufman–Ira Gershwin–Arthur Schwartz musical at the Shubert Theater, got rather tepid reviews, but I found it as entertaining as anything of the kind I have seen in a good while. It is true that the plot is only a very sketchy farce and, what is more serious, that the score is not especially good, but there are a number of very ingratiating performers, including Leonora Corbett, and an expert direction which manages somehow to avoid those sudden plunges into the vacuum of an air pocket which make most musical comedies a torture to me. I infinitely prefer Mr. Johnson's and Mr. Kaufman's gags (of which there are several very good ones) to the usual sentimental songs sung before a backdrop while the scene is being changed (of which there are, mercifully, none).

[*James Agee's film column, which did not appear last week, will be in its usual place next week.*]

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

DEBUSSY's "Pelléas et Melisande," whenever I have heard it in the past, has been too tenuous for my mind to get hold of—the fact being that much of the physical sound of the orchestral part has been lost on the way to my ear in the vast space of the Metropolitan, and the rest in the conversation which the Metropolitan's audience feels it may carry on when the curtain is not up. Not until the New York Philharmonic played excerpts in the superb acoustic conditions of Carnegie Hall recently could I hear what the orchestral detail sounded like and appreciate how marvelously beautiful and effective for its dramatic purpose it is. Or rather, I was able to do this at first, but after that the growing restlessness of the audience made it difficult for me to keep my mind on the music. I am inclined to ascribe that restlessness to the uncomfortable temperature of the hall; for it would be surprising if a sophisticated symphony audience, which is accustomed to hearing Debussy's orchestral music, found "Pelléas" uninteresting; and the performance was very beautiful, with the lovely sonorities produced by the orchestra under Rodzinski's direction, and the fine singing of Maggie Teyte and Raoul Jobin.

In Aaron Copland's recent works—like "Rodeo" and "Appalachian Spring"—one hears Copland's matured "modern" style, and an occasional integration of this style with American folk music or with the idiom of this music. They are the end of a development, of which the beginning is the Piano Concerto, composed in 1926 but performed in New York for the first time only recently. In this work one hears the big raucous noises of a first attempt at a "modern" style; and one hears phrases of hot jazz pianists, clarinettists, and trumpeters—phrases torn out of their original contexts and not integrated with the "modern" noises. The jazz phrases remain mere quotations, which astonish and after a while amuse one with their extraordinary accuracy; they succeed each other but do not develop; and that, in fact, is true of all the substance of the work, which is interesting only as part of the documentation of Copland's development as a composer. The performance by Leo Smit with the New York City Symphony under Leonard Bernstein was excellent; and so was the one of Haydn's D major Concerto, in which Smit's precisely executed sensitiveness occasionally produced fussy nuances in scale passages and phrases.

Not having heard Benjamin Britten's most recent opera I don't know whether it justifies the recent contention of a writer in the London *New Statesman and Nation* that one now had to speak not of Britten's talent but of his genius. If I were to judge by the violin concerto, composed in 1939, that Bernstein performed at another of his concerts I would not speak even of talent. There is not an idea in it that is worth anyone's attention—to say nothing of the superb skill wasted on its difficulties by Werner Lywen, the soloist in the performance.

The driving intensity which robbed Toscanini's performances last year of their normal plasticity has been less evident this year. It was not evident at all in the performance of Mozart's Divertimento K. 287 for two horns and strings, which was completely relaxed and plastic, and enchanting in its modeling of phraseological contours, at once so sharp and so fluid. On the other hand it seemed to me that his tempos for the opening and the coda of Brahms's Variations on a theme of Haydn were unusually fast; and this impression was confirmed when I played the Victor recording of his performance with the New York Philharmonic, in which the slower tempos gave the opening a repose, and the coda a gravity and spaciousness, that I preferred to their restless urgency in the broadcast performance.

The manifestations of fatigue or boredom in the playing of the Budapest Quartet the past two or three years are gone this year: the group has been in top form. In broadcast performances the perfection has included tone; but at the Y. M. H. A. the violins have sounded harsh and wiry. For some time I had been wondering whether the auditorium wasn't excessively resonant; but one evening recently I tried the experiment of cupping my hands around my ears, and discovered to my surprise that the sound of the violins became fuller and—as it did so—clearer and smoother. It began to look as though the harshness came not from too much but from too little resonance. And as it happened an engineer I know who has an ear for musical sound (which is not standard equipment for radio engineers) mentioned that he had heard the Budapest Quartet at the Y. M. H. A. and had not liked its sound in the unresonant auditorium.

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Letters to the Editors

Asks Child-Labor Ban

Dear Sirs: The Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution has now been ratified by twenty-eight states. Eight more must ratify before the amendment becomes valid. It is a national disgrace that it is not already in force.

The amendment itself does not attempt to regulate child labor. It very properly leaves that to Congress. The exact wording is as follows:

SECTION I. The Congress shall have the power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

SECTION II. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to the legislation enacted by the Congress.

I give below the states which have ratified. If your state has not done so, apply pressure to your state officials for an immediate referendum. Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming. LLOYD W. MAFFITT

Wapello, Iowa, November 2

Recommends Workshop

Dear Sirs: As a subscriber to *The Nation,* I read with interest this past spring of a Workshop in Intercultural Education to be held in Los Angeles under the supervision and direction of Dr. Stewart Cole. After attending this workshop for a period of seven weeks in the summer, I realized the importance of its services. I met with some thirty-five men and women of various majority and minority groups from all parts of the United States—all of different religions and ethnic ancestry. All of us were deeply concerned with the problem of intercultural living. As a result of my experience I am convinced that in this type of workshop lies the solution of the problem of how people can learn to live together and respect one another. We learned to recognize and face minority problems; we lent ourselves to a scientific study of prejudices that stand in the way of a free intercultural association, and we sought for concrete means whereby the mutual respect of neighbors could be attained.

Surely this Workshop in Intercultural Education, if it is not the sole way in which one can be prepared to act responsibly as a world citizen, is the best that I know.

WILLIAM J. NORTON

New Brunswick, October 30

Scientists Appeal

Dear Sirs: The Federation of American Scientists asks public help. . . .

We need $10,000 immediately to clear the expenses of our fight for civilian atomic control last summer—expenses which involved personal sacrifices on the part of a number of people. The Council of the F. A. S. has voted to ask our membership and friends to contribute to this emergency fund and enable us to continue.

JOHN H. RUSH, Secretary-Treasurer,
Federation of American Scientists

Washington, November 18

Writers Can Win $1,500

Dear Sirs: The Tamiment Social and Economic Institute announces an annual essay contest, awarding $3,000 in cash prizes to the five undergraduate college students submitting the best essays on the theme "Roads to Industrial Peace." There will be a first prize of $1,500, a second of $750, and three third prizes of $250 each.

All undergraduate college students are eligible. A contestant may submit but one essay, which should be between 5,000 and 8,000 words. The contest closes April 25, 1947, and all communications should be addressed to Tamiment Institute Contest, 7 East Fifteenth Street, New York 3, N. Y.

LOUIS WALDMAN

New York, November 15

Says Negro Vote Shifted

Dear Sirs: My paper says the C. I. O.-P. A. C. elected only 78 of 344 candidates it supported. Behind the Republican victory, however, are less than 3,000,000 votes. The figures, in round numbers, are 18,000,000 to 15,000,000.

My estimate is that at least 1,500,000 of the votes won by the Republicans were cast by Negroes, and that these votes previously went to Democrats. . . .

How silly, then, to talk about the failure of the C. I. O.-P. A. C. when the victory of the Republicans really belongs to the do-nothing, race-hating element among the Democrats—Truman included. In their necessarily elemental approach to the question of how to vote, Negroes could see nothing of worth to their race in the present set-up of the Democratic Party.

My sincere belief is that a shift of Negro votes to the tune of nearly 2,000,000 really brought the Republican victory and that no widespread anti-liberal sentiment had anything to do with it. W. J. J.

Philadelphia, November 11

A Doubtful Precedent

Dear Sirs: During the Nürnberg trial and after the judgment a controversy arose over whether there is a rule in international law which makes aggressive war a crime. Justice Jackson and Professor Sheldon Glueck produced ample affirmative evidence. Now Mr. Biddle's report and President Truman's reply seem to justify their opponents. We are told by Mr. Biddle that "it is not enough to set one great precedent. . . . Clearer definition is needed." He suggests "drafting a code of international criminal law" which would give much thought to "what extent aggressive war should be defined, methods of waging war outlawed, penalties fixed," and so forth.

From all this, it appears that the Nürnberg judgment was pronounced without a clear definition of what constituted the crime and what was its punishment. President Truman, less confident than the enthusiasts for the judgment, expresses the "hope" that it will create a precedent, and he therefore favors having an international criminal law dealing with aggressive war drawn up "by the best legal minds the world over."

This is most gratifying, but without insinuating that the participants of the Nürnberg trial did not belong to "the best legal minds," we cannot help observing that a criminal law which needs to be drafted in the future, plainly did not exist when the Military Tribunal set its doubtful precedent.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, November 13

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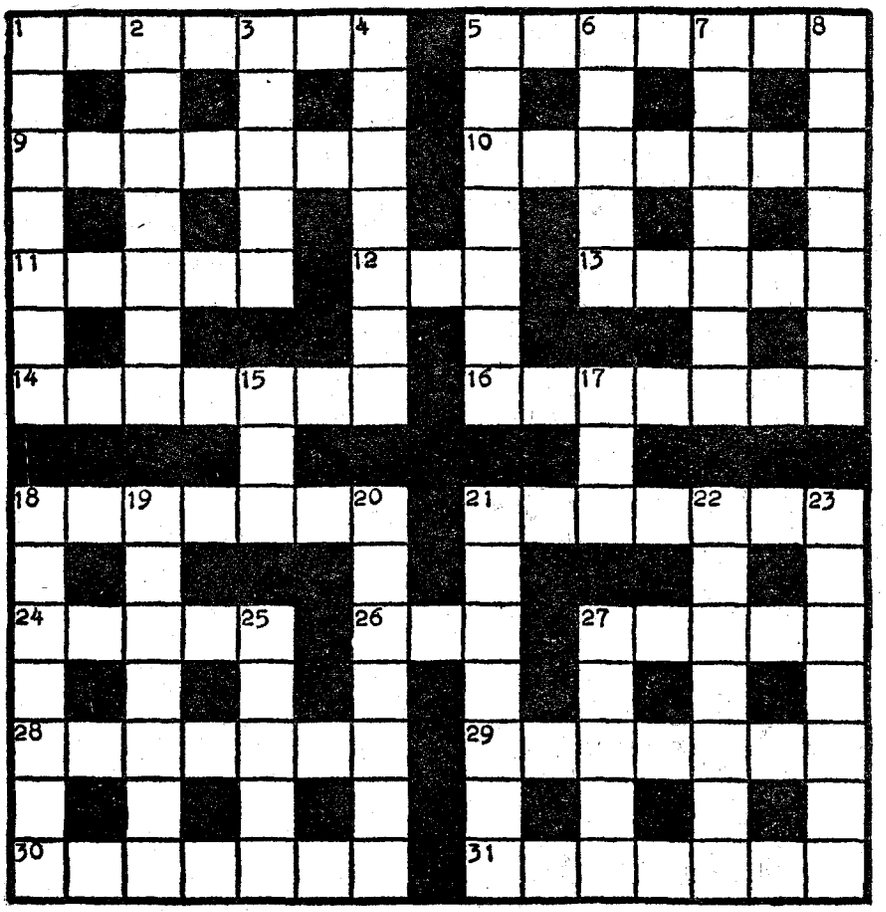
Crossword Puzzle No. 189

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 This Russian soldier might change into priestly garb
5 Most playful things in the earth (3 and 4)
9 Russian danseuse who gave many farewell performances
10 Thoroughly understand
11 A good sport is a good one
12 "--- habits gather by unseen degrees—As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas"
13 Can be spelt four ways, which is more than most surnames can
14 Poor stale swipes
16 A reward
18 More than a bull-dozer
21 Blockheads who might easily become rail-heads
24 Apart
26 A seedy fruit
27 Lost to view
28 A seasoned veteran (3 and 4)
29 Take possession of
30 Ladies from Spain
31 What the fire does to Erica

DOWN

1 Put lace—upon Juliet?
2 Puts by (5 and 2)
3 French love affair
4 Confound these tricks!
5 Even a hind has it
6 Röntgen's invention (1-4)
7 Made one
8 "King ------- was a worthy peer, His breeches cost him but a crown; He held them sixpence all too dear, Therefore he called the tailor down"
15 Plus
17 Oberon ruled over this land
18 Mows around the outside (and inside too)
19 Walked on
20 Disproves
21 Small species of shark
22 "Roughen" is its synonym and its anagram
23 Good music may make us shiver, but the other sort is apt to make us this
25 Discernment
27 She passed in English literature

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 188

ACROSS:—1 BROTH; 4 GEE; 6 FRILL; 9 AIR MAIL; 10 ANTONIO; 11 NUMBER; 14 DEBRIS; 15 DESPAIR; 16 HANS; 17 DEAL; 19 ADORNED; 20 YANK; 22 FACT; 24 RETORTS; 26 IMPAIR; 27 STRIPE; 31 CREEPER; 32 HALYARD; 33 GESTE; 34 BOB; 35 STAIR.

DOWN:—1 BRAIN; 2 OARSMEN; 3 HEATED; 4 GULF; 5 ELAN; 6 FATHER; 7 INNERVE; 8 LIONS; 12 RED DEER; 13 SPARROW; 14 DIGESTS; 16 HEY; 18 LOT; 21 NIPPERS; 23 ALI BABA; 24 RIPPLE; 25 STILES; 26 INCOG; 28 ELDER; 29 GRUB; 30 CHUB.

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